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THE MONKS OF THE WEST

VOLUME THE FIFTH

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THE

MONKS OF THE WEST

FROM ST. BENEDICT TO ST. BERNARD

BY THE

COUNT DE MONTALEMBERT

MEMBER OF THE FRENCH ACADEMY

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THE

REV. F. A. GASQUET, D.D., O.S.B.

AUTHOR OF

"HENRY VIII. AND THE ENGLISH MONASTERIES"

FIDE ET VERITATE

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME THE FIFTH

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PREFACE

DURING the years which preceded 1848, M. de Montalembert had prepared an Introduction to the "Life of St. Bernard," which it was his intention to write after the "Life of St. Elizabeth." This Introduction, which would have been in two volumes, was intended, according to the idea of the author, to make known "the real character of the Monastic Orders, and the work they had accomplished for the Catholic world, before St. Bernard had attained the highest place in the esteem and admiration of contemporary Christendom."

Almost the whole of the first volume was printed and ready for publication when the Revolution of February imposed other labours on M. de Montalembert, and plunged his countrymen into political turmoils little compatible with the studious calm of history. It was therefore resolved, by common consent of the author and publisher, to defer the publication to a season of less public excitement. Four years after, when the establishment of the Empire had sent back M. de Montalembert to more leisurely occupations, it was his desire to resume his interrupted work: he submitted it "to the judgment of Monsignor Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, and did not find it satisfactory." These are his own words. He then decided upon a sacrifice sufficiently rare among authors: he bought back from his publisher the large edition which had been printed, and consigned it

to oblivion—then recommenced his work on a different plan and a much more extended form. From this new beginning issued the "Monks of the West."

It was not meet, however, that the work so bravely sacrificed should be altogether thrown away. The critics to whom M. de Montalembert had submitted his work, and the severity of his own judgment of it, concerned only the first portion—the First Book of the printed volume. The rise and early days of the Monastic Orders had seemed to their historian to be described too briefly: the portico had been judged too narrow for the proportions of the edifice. Thus, all the substance of the four hundred pages composing the First Book appears in the volumes of the "Monks of the West" now given to the public.

But following this First Book, there came a picture of the relations between the Monastic Orders and the feudal system extending to the eleventh century, which the author has traced with affectionate interest, and which he has nowhere else repeated. There was also a second manuscript volume, almost completed, the purpose of which was to remind the world of the position, constantly growing in importance and in honour, held in the Church and in Christendom during the eleventh century by monks, and to lead the reader to St. Gregory and St. Bernard. In order to represent briefly the progress and services of the Monastic Orders at this period, the author evoked a few grand figures —monks who were almost all popes, popes who were almost all monks. He formed, through the dense and living forest of the middle ages, a kind of open avenue, marked by a series of monumental statues, by which the traveller might reach the threshold of the temple he meant to consecrate to St. Bernard. This temple was destined never to be raised

by his hands. All he was permitted to do was to gather a portion of the materials.

The persons to whom he bequeathed his papers, and the task of publishing such of them as were fit, think that they fulfil their mission in printing what remains of a work already considerably advanced, but not finished. All who have been able to examine these fragments have judged them worthy of their author. And after having set aside the earlier part of his work, the author himself, ever his own severest judge, had yet the intention of some day publishing that which is now put forth.

It is true that the task of preparing these volumes for publication after his death was not altogether an easy one. To bring these pages into faithful conformity with the manuscript of M. de Montalembert—to oversee the printing of a book drawn from the most various sources, filled with quotations and abounding in notes written in different languages—required a man possessed of a watchful and unerring erudition, who should at the same time be of one mind with M. de Montalembert as to religious beliefs and historical predilections. M. Aurélien de Courson has consented to undertake this delicate and laborious task, thus contributing to the good work of giving to the present generation such a picture of the monks of old as shall do justice to their uprightness and show their virtues in true colours.

Let us hope that this posthumous work of the historian of the "Monks of the West" may be found useful; that an exact and faithful narrative, which, by never trying to conceal a stain, vindicates its right to unveil every glory, may serve to exalt, together with the honour of a noble institution long calumniated and proscribed, the honour

of the Church herself.[1] This sacred hope inspired M. de Montalembert when, in 1860, he published the first page of that work, the last page of which is now about to appear. This sustained him later when, in painful trials and cruel suffering, already in the grasp of death, he still continued his labours.

He hoped that his pen might become "a sword in the hard and holy war of conscience, truth, and the disarmed majesty of right against the triumphant oppression of falsehood and evil."[2] The holy warfare is not less fierce now than in the time of M. de Montalembert, and his sword may yet do service.

[1] Introduction to the Monks of the West, chap. i.
[2] *Ibid.*, chap. x.

NOTICE

THE two following volumes should have been completed by an Appendix, to which M. de Montalembert repeatedly refers his readers. But either the MSS. intended to compose this Appendix were lost among the enormous mass of documents left by the illustrious author, or he must have thought that the numerous notes placed at the foot of his pages might do double duty with the texts that were to be placed at the end of the last volume. However this may be, we have thought it our duty to warn the reader. If, after a fresh revision of M. de Montalembert's papers, documents of real importance should be found, we shall not fail to print them with a new edition.

Yet another word. The biography of St. Anselm, which is to be found in its place in the last volume of the "Monks of the West," is not unpublished. At the same time, before incorporating it with other narratives, the author altered and added to it considerably.

AURÉLIEN DE COURSON.

PARIS, *January* 15, 1877.

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BOOK XVIII

THE CHURCH AND THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—THE MONASTIC ORDERS AND SOCIETY

"**Conflabunt gladios suos in vomeres et lanceas suas in falces.**"—ISAIÆ, ii. 4.

"**Sedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis, et in tabernaculis fiduciæ, et in requie opulenta.**"—ISAIÆ, xxxii. 18.

"**Arma militiæ nostræ non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo ad destructionem munitionum, consilia destruentes, et omnem altitudinem extollentem se adversus scientiam Dei, et in captivitatem redigentes omnem intellectum in obsequium Christi.**"—2 CORINTH. x. 4, 5.

"Nota i gran patrici
Di questo imperio giustissimo pio."
—*Paradiso*, c. xxxii. p. 151.

CHAPTER I

THE INFLUENCE OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS ON FEUDAL SOCIETY

The feudal system and the Church.—The most celebrated monks belonged to the high feudal nobility.—St. Gerald, Count of Aurillac.—Gifts of the Seigneurs and of their wives.—Motives of these gifts.—Feudal patronage.—Care of the Seigneurs for monks.—Letter of Pope Victor II. to the Count of Blois.—Repentance of those who had failed in their duties to the Church.—What price they attached to the prayers of monks.—Imprecations against spoilers.

THE preceding volumes have been dedicated to the object of recalling the immense and too much forgotten part played by the Monastic Orders in the midst of religious society, up to that epoch which saw the reign of St. Gregory VII. and the birth of St. Bernard. Before entering upon the history of the great struggle in which the former of these two saints undertook, aided by the monks, to enfranchise the Church and secure her from lay usurpations, it is necessary to glance at the influence exercised by these monks over the different branches of secular society.

Let us begin with the feudal aristocracy, which for several centuries governed Catholic Europe; and after having instanced the memorable conversions of many great lords in the eleventh century, who ranged themselves under the crosier of Abbot Hugh of Cluny, himself sprung from their own rank, we will show what close ties united the feudal aristocracy to the Monastic Orders, during the whole period in which these two institutions existed in their full force and freedom.

And here we ought, in the first place, to refute the

paradox by which superficial observers, too servilely imbued with recent prejudices, seek to prove a constant warfare between the Church and the feudal system, and in their writings constantly oppose the monk to the knight, and the abbey to the castle. Many propagate this strange error from pure motives, believing themselves thus able to be useful to the Church, even while sacrificing to their modern instincts. But the best way to serve the Church is to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Whatever prudence may counsel us to do when we treat with contemporaries, in history at least let us leave to this sacred Truth all her freedom and power; do not let us sacrifice her to ignorant declamation—do not let us, above all, sacrifice with her the honour of those heroes who slept tranquilly in their monastic tombs until the day when Vandals came at once to profane their sepulchres and to raze to the ground the secular abbeys which they had founded.

We have not here to write an apology for the feudal system, from either the social or political point of view;[1]

[1] Let us only cite, in passing, the sentence passed upon the feudal system by two jurisconsults of our own day, as learned as they are unsuspected of any partiality for the side of Catholic institutions. M. Troplong spoke in the following terms at the Academy of Social and Political Sciences, Jan. 10, 1846: "If the feudal system lived a life so vigorous and so widely spread over Europe, it was because it had a right to live. It was popular at its birth, and it was popular simply because it satisfied the generally received ideas as to sovereignty, and the rights of the family and of property. The length of its reign, the grandeur and originality of its creations, the influence which it exercised during several centuries on public manners, attest that its power was no borrowed one."—*Rapport sur les coutumes du bailliage d'Amiens*, ap. *Revue de législation*, Jan. 1846, pp. 8, 9. M. Charles Giraud, Inspector-General of Law Schools, Member of the Institute, speaking, in presence of the same Academy, of the judicial institutions founded by the conquerors of Normandy and of Palestine, by the contemporaries of St. Gregory VII. and St. Bernard, had already said, "Feudal law is not what it might be supposed, tyrannical, grasping, barbarous, stupid; it is, and we must own it, HEALING, GENEROUS, ENLIGHTENED, AND CIVILISING."—*Notice read at the Academy*, Nov. 12, 1842; *Revue de législation*, vol. xvii. p. 28.

the point more or less at issue is to draw from it some deduction applicable to modern society, present or future. But the past belongs to justice, and justice imposes upon impartial and sincere men the duty of recognising a verity as resplendent as the light of day, by declaring that, of all the phases through which society has passed, the feudal period is that which has been most constantly favourable to the development of the Church. After the most conscientious study of the facts, we do not fear to proclaim, that of all the powers which have ruled the world before or since the feudal aristocracy of the middle ages, not one has yielded to the Church so large a share of authority, of wealth, of honours, and, above all, of liberty; that not one has endowed her with monuments so gigantic, so admirable, or so lavishly scattered over the face of the earth; that not one has listened so respectfully to her voice, or furnished such numerous and valiant armies for the defence of her liberties and her rights; that not one, in fine, has peopled her sanctuaries with so great a crowd of believers and of saints. There is nothing more natural, nothing more logical, than to attack the feudal system in the name of philosophy and of modern democracy; but to attack it in the name of the Church, which was indebted to it for all that monarchy and democracy have now made their prey—this is at once the height of ignorance and of ingratitude.

Undoubtedly, under the rule of the Catholic feudal system of the middle ages the world was stained by a thousand odious acts of violence, a thousand atrocious injustices; but has it ever been otherwise here below? And have the successors of the feudal rulers, from Henry VIII. down to the Convention, departed from this fatal law? Yes, truly—during the centuries of which we speak there was seen, as there will always be seen, cruelty, avarice, and debauchery, rebelling against the teaching of the Church, and maintaining the empire of evil on earth. Yes, certainly, in those days the churches, and, above all, the monasteries, founded

or endowed by the feudal nobles, often became the victims of usurpation and oppression committed by the very heirs of those who had built or enriched them. Yea, more—these very nobles, carried away by the eternal passion which corrupts all the great ones of earth—by pride, by the intoxication of power—might be seen permitting themselves to overstep the limits of justice, of moderation, and of honour. But what has never been seen in the same degree is the constant atonement for these violences, and the immediate expiation of these crimes, by marvels of humility,[1] of penitence, and of pious liberality. What has never been seen is the existence of a class of men, who, all-powerful both in law and in fact, were yet almost always modest and humble before the voice which reminded them of the nothingness and the dangers of their power, always open to repentance, always ready to make the most generous sacrifices for the salvation of souls and the interests of heaven, and perpetually anxious to defend, to enrich, and to fortify the Church—that is to say, the only power which could then counterbalance and repress their own.[2]

The easy task of proving that this was the case in the middle ages is not imposed on us here. As for what

[1] Let us instance, among so many other examples, those of Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, and of Boniface, Marquis of Tuscany, who, in the eleventh century, both caused themselves to be publicly flogged in the presence of their subjects, to obtain the Church's pardon for violence of which they had been guilty (*Gest. Vird. epis.* in CALMET, *Hist. Lothar. probat.*, p. 210). Guido sacer abbas Bonifacium ne venderet amplius, ipsum ante Dei matris altare flagellat amore verberibus nudum.—Quoted by HŒFLER, *Deutsche Päbste*, ii. 32.

[2] It is the monks who, in the chronicles of various monasteries, in the biography of the saints of their order, have preserved to us the memory of the violent acts of the nobles, adding the strong expression of their disapproval; but it is there also that they have placed on record the innumerable proofs of generosity, devotedness, and penitence given by these same nobles. It would therefore be falling short of the first laws of historical equity to study these sources of information only to draw from them a recital of the abuses of a power whose benefits are inscribed on every page.

specially regards the Monastic Orders, we think that we have partially accomplished it in the narratives already given, and in those which will follow. Let us only recall the fact that, during all the great centuries of monastic splendour, from St. Benedict to St. Dominic, the founders of all the orders, the builders of all the principal houses, most of the monastic saints, and a very great majority of those abbots who are still remembered, were sprung from the high feudal nobility. It is not we alone who affirm this. Open what collection you will of the memorials of the epoch—what volume you will of Mabillon, D'Achery, Canisius, or Martène—and find, if you can, a page which does not prove this fact. Need we recall here all the reformers of the Monastic Orders—Colombanus, Benedict of Anagni, Dunstan, William of St. Benignus, Poppo of Stavelot, &c.? all the founders of new orders—Herluin, Romuald, Jean Gualbert, Stephen de Grandmont? all the Benedictine doctors and pontiffs—Gregory the Great, Ulric, Wolfgang, Leo IX., Peter Damian, Lanfranc, Didier of Monte Cassino? all the dynasty of the great abbots of Cluny, Bernon, Odo, Mayeul, Odilon, Hugh? all the martyrs drawn from the cloister—Adalbert, Bruno, Boniface, Alphege, Gerard Sagredo, and the many others whose names fill the pages of history? It is easy to convince ourselves that they all belonged to the noblest races of their time or of their country. But what is important to insist upon is, that their example was never without effect upon the class in which they were born; and that while the nobles were supreme over society, they furnished her with models innumerable both of intrepid defenders and of benefactors whose generosity was inexhaustible. It would seem that evidence to the truth of this proposition must be borne by all that we have already written; but how many names and facts still remain to be cited in order to render full homage to the historic truth upon this point! How many admirable incidents, how many entire lives, have we been

obliged to omit! There is one, however, which we cannot pass over in silence, so faithfully does it represent the true character of a notable portion of the dominant feudalism.

Gerald, Count of Aurillac, did not spend his life in the cloister, but practised all its virtues and austerities in the midst of the world. He was born[1] of one of the noblest houses of France,[2] already illustrious in having given birth to two saints.[3] In the many combats in which he engaged for the defence of the poor and oppressed, no one was ever able to resist him,[4] though he took the most minute precautions to render as bloodless as possible the defeat of his enemies.[5] In his youth he allowed himself to be inflamed by the beauty of a vassal's daughter, but at the moment of yielding he remembered the infinite sweetness of Divine love;[6] and to shelter from his passion her who was the object of it, he caused the young serf to be married, giving her as a dowry her liberty and one of his own domains.[7] He loved to enfranchise his serfs; but so mild was his yoke and so loved was his person, that most of them refused the freedom he offered them.[8] St. Odo of Cluny, who wrote the life

[1] In 836.

[2] "Carnis nobilitate tam excellenter illustris, ut inter gallicanas familias ejus prosapia, tam rebus quam probitate morum, generosior videretur."—S. ODONIS, *Vit. S. Geraldi Auril. comit.*, ap. *Bibl. Clun.*, p. 67.

[3] St. Cesaire of Arles and the beatified Areq or Arige, founder of St. Yrieix.

[4] "Non enim auditum est aliquando quod vel eum vel milites ejus, qui sub illius fidelitate pugnaverunt, eventus victoriæ fefellisset."—S. ODONIS, p. 71.

[5] "Suis imperiosa voce præcepit, mucronibus gladiorum retroactis, hastas in antea dirigentes pugnarent."—*Ibid.*, 70.

[6] "Species per oculos cordi impressa remansit.... Interim sicut solent captivi inter vincula pristinæ libertatis gementes memorari, suspirat Geraldus, et consuetam divinæ dilectionis dulcedinem recolebat."—*Ibid.*, 72.

[7] "Jubet protinus patri ut hanc nuptui traderet. Quam et libertate donavit, et quoddam prædiolum jure testamentario concessit."—*Ibid.*

[8] "Innumera sunt quæ emancipavit. Quam plures ex ipsis amore ejus perstricti libertatem recusantes, permanere magis in servitute ejus maluerunt. Quo facto provideri potest quam dulce dominium in eos exercuerit. . . . Habebat enim idem senior divinitus hoc donum ut tam ipse quam sermo ejus gratiosus esset."—*Ibid.*, 105, 81.

of St. Gerald, relates a hundred delightful instances of his gentleness towards his vassals, of his ardent and tender charity, and of the extreme delicacy which distinguished him amidst a society where the idea of individual property was far from being understood or respected at it is now. Thus, the produce of certain of his lands was devoted to feeding the poor, that of others to clothing them. One day, seeing a peasant woman driving the plough because her husband was sick, he stopped greatly moved, and having questioned the woman, gave her money to pay a man to take her place. Another time, when his servants had prepared his table under a cherry-tree, from which they had gathered some of the fruit, he caused the price of the cherries to be given to the grumbling owner. Again, another day, the pages who preceded him having taken some peas from a field where the harvest was being carried in by a labourer, he put his horse to the gallop, and, going up to the man, asked what they had taken. "Nothing, monseigneur; for I gave them those peas," said the peasant. "Then may God requite you!" answered the count.[1]

These are very small things in themselves, says the pious biographer, but how do they show the love of justice in this noble seigneur![2] Count Gerald of Aurillac was at the same time capable of greater things; for he gave up his immense fortune to St. Peter, regarding himself only as an administrator intrusted with its employment solely for the honour of the Church, and the good of the monks and the poor: and in order to remind himself of this obligation, he went to Rome every second year with ten pieces of money hung round his neck, which he laid on the tomb of the blessed

[1] "Emisit equum, et ad hominem concitus venit. . . . At ille: Ego, domine, gratis dedi. . . . Et senior: Bene, inquit, faciat tibi Deus."—S. ODONIS, *Ibid.*, p. 78.

[2] "Hæc ergo res per se exigua est, sed affectus recti hominis naturæ legibus conveniens, eam grandescere facit. . . . Forte dicet aliquis quod hæc relatu indigna sunt. Sed nos timorati hominis mentem per hæc exigua demonstramus."—*Ibid.*

apostle, like a humble serf who brings his tribute to his seigneur.[1] During these journeys, as well as at home, the life of the count was passed among monks whose practices and rules he lovingly studied. He was deterred from taking the monastic habit only by the prayers of his bishop, who wished him to retain the free use of his sword for the safety of the province.[2] However, by continence, fasting, and penances of all kinds, he assimilated himself to the monks as much as possible; and he was permitted to consecrate the last years of his life to the erection, in his town of Aurillac, of a great monastery, the building of which he himself directed, and which he endowed with great part of the wealth he had assigned to St. Peter. He died without being able to instal the monks there, according to his wish.[3] But, some months afterwards, Cluny began its existence and entered upon the magnificent inheritance.

How many other great landed proprietors transformed into monastic endowments, some, like Count Gerald, their whole patrimony, some the most considerable part of it! To those whom we have already named, such as Gerard de Roussillon or the Norman leaders whose gifts we have previously indicated,[4] we may add, among a thousand others, Aymard, Sire de Bourbon, who gave Souvigny to Cluny;[5] Guibert,[6] who founded the Abbey of Gemblours in Brabant, on the very site of his own castle, and endowed it with all his possessions;[7] Count Eilbert of Vermandois, conqueror of

[1] "Decemque solidos ad proprium collum dependentes, tanquam supplex servus, domino suo quasi censum deferret."—S. ODONIS, *Ibid.*, 95.

[2] "Pro communi salute comprovincialium."—*Ibid.*, 88.

[3] In 909.

[4] The 5th book of Ordericus Vitalis contains, in the enumeration of gifts to St. Evroul, which almost fills it, the best picture of the relations of a monastery with the nobles of a province.

[5] In 921.

[6] "Cujus avum et aviam fatentur longam antiquæ nobilitatis traxisse lineam."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii., ad ann. 962.

[7] In 923. The Abbot-Count of Gemblours held, until the Revolution, the first rank among the estates of Brabant in the order of nobles.

Charles the Simple, who, in concert with his wife Hersende, built, first, Vasor,[1] at the gates of his castle, then St. Michel in Thiérache,[2] and five other abbeys, to atone for the ill done by the garrisons of the seven fortresses he had inherited from his ancestors;[3] William Lord of Talmont, in Poitou, who also wished to establish a monastery within the bounds of his castle, because, as he says in his deed, "if I cannot myself live worthily for the service of God, I wish at least to assure a home to those with whom it pleases God to dwell;"[4] Anselm, Count of Ribemont, who, having founded Anchin in 1079, afterwards turned his own fief of Ribemont into an abbey before going to die gloriously in the First Crusade; Alain, Count of Bretagne, who founded St. Georges, at Rennes, as a dowry for his sister Adela, whom he offered to God as his most precious treasure;[5] Geoffrey Martel, Count of Vendôme, and his wife Agnes, who built at Vendôme itself the great abbey which for so long was one of the first in France.[6] This pious pair did not stop there:

[1] *Valciodurum*, in 944. The second abbot of this house was a young Scottish prince, St. Cadroc, who left his own country to become a monk in France.—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii., ann. 975.

[2] This abbey, situated at the extremity of Picardy, and on the confines of the Ardennes, still exists, changed into a manufactory. The church is well preserved, and presents some curious peculiarities in its five apses and its transept, which certainly date from the first years of the twelfth century.

[3] "Construxerat septem maledictionis domicilia; . . . benedictionis et obedientiæ habitacula septem complere deliberavit."—*Chron. Valciod.*, ap. D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 712. These were Vasor, St. Michel, Bucilly, Humblières, Hartières, Florennes, and a seventh, of which I cannot trace the name.

[4] "Ut qui videlicet vacare non possim quomodo Domino digne facerem, illi saltem per me domum haberent, in quibus Dominus habitaret."—*Deed of foundation*, in 1042.

[5] "Sororem meam, thesaurum scilicet mihi sub sole pretiosissimum, Deo obtuli."—*Deed of foundation*, 1030.

[6] That is to say, the Abbey of the Holy Trinity, dedicated in 1040 by seven bishops, assisted by twenty-four abbots. The Abbot of the Holy Trinity was endowed in perpetuity by Alexander II. in 1063, with the dignity of cardinal of the Roman Church by the title of St. Priscus.

besides Vendôme, they founded Notre Dame de Saintes[1] and L'Aiguière,[2] being inflamed with the desire, then so common, to contribute to the salvation of their souls by some alms which would not perish.

When the fortune of a seigneur did not allow him to make important foundations or donations, he offered himself as a serf or vassal. This was done by a knight named Robert de l'Anguille, who, to obtain the right to see the bones of the abbess St. Hunegonde, offered his person in vassalage to the Abbey of Humblières, in Vermandois, under the symbol of a leash of deerskin, and added to this the gift of a garden.[3]

High-born women followed these examples. Richilde, a lady of Lorraine, when about to celebrate her second marriage, after having lodged for some time at the Abbey of St. Maur of Verdun, presented herself on the eve of her wedding-day at the abbey church, and made there the offering of herself, and the children who might be born of her marriage, to God and St. Maur, engaging to lay an annual tribute on the altar of the saint.[4]

This monastery, the beautiful church of which is still standing, was celebrated later for the possession of the relic of the Holy Tear. The Abbot Matthieu, of Vendôme, became regent of the kingdom under St. Louis. We shall have to speak later of the Abbot Geoffrey, one of the warmest defenders of the Holy See during the pontificates of Urban II. and Pascal II.

[1] In 1047. This house was destined for nuns; and it is remarked in the deed of foundation that they are allowed a certain number of tame animals—"*propter femineam imbecillitatem.*"—MABILL., *Ann.*, iv. 447.

[2] Or L'Évière, in 1056. "Pro liberatione animarum nostrarum desiderantes aliquid non facile abolendum eleemosynæ votum Deo . . . offerre."

[3] "Militaris vir . . . cognomento *Anguillula*. . . . Se ipsum ob devotionem per cervinam corrigiam servum obtulit, atque in exhibitione servitutis hortum jure prædii tradidit in villa quæ Marceja fertur."—*Translatio S. Hunegundis*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii. p. 226, ed. Venet.

[4] "Placuit ipsi ut de se ipsa potius quam de rebus ceteris et alienis victimam Deo et S. Mauro solveret. . . . Seque ipsam et liberos ex se nascituros Deo et S. Mauro vovit, ea lege ut unaquæque proles annuum censum ad altare S. Mauri offerret, mas quidem denarios duos, femina tres obolos."—MABILL., *Ann. Bened.*, l. lxx. c. 71.

Other women, widows and mistresses of their wealth, disposed of it for the profit of Monastic Orders. Traunstein, in Austria, was thus founded by Ida, sister of the Margrave Ottocar; Muri, in Switzerland, by another Ida, Countess of Hapsburg;[1] Banz, near Bamberg, by Alberade, Marchioness of Hohenburg;[2] St. Denis of Broqueroie, in Hainault, by Richilda, widow of the Count of Hainault and Flanders.[3] The Viscountess Hildegarde of Châteaudun gave her estate of Beaumont to the monks of St. Père at Chartres, on condition that they should bury her in their cloister, where, walking over her tomb, they might remember to pray incessantly for her.[4]

It would be vain to seek a worldly reason, a temporal end, for a generosity so constant and complete. It would be difficult to explain it by the mere desire to secure a venerated tomb with an epitaph as laconic as that which may still be read amidst the ruins of the Abbey of Margam in Wales:[5]—

Here : lies : Maurice : de : Londres : the : founder :
May : God : recompense : his : work.

It would be a mistake, above all, to attribute these sacrifices to a disgust for the good things of this world, to satiety, to melancholy, or even to the lessons of misfortune. Such dispositions are met with only in societies tending to their decline; they agree in no way with the young and energetic life of the middle ages.

[1] In 1027. This abbey, which has just succumbed to the attacks of the vile imitators of French vandalism, was celebrated for its rich library, where, in the twelfth century, were found Martial, Persius, Statius, and Homer. It had the privilege of ennobling all who took the vows there.—HURTER, vol. iii. book xxi. c. 6, notes 379 and 588.

[2] In 1058. [3] In 1080.

[4] "Eo tenore quod post exitum meum sepeliar in claustrum monachorum, ut semper transeuntes super meum tumulum orent pro me jugiter."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii. p. 281, ad. ann. 1030.

[5] Of the order of Cistercians, in Glamorganshire.—J. M. NEALE, *Hierologus*, p. 66.

It was, on the contrary, from the very midst of gaiety, of happiness, and of power, that there issued those spontaneous and abundant offerings, those acts of generosity and devotion, which were at the same time acts of faith and humility. Let us hear the testimony on this matter of the greatest English noble of the tenth century, Æthelwin, Duke or Count of East Anglia, as widely renowned for his rank and his valour as for his joyous and cordial good-nature.[1] "I am," said he to the Archbishop St. Oswald,[2] in allusion to the words of the Gospel, "a man subject to others, and having command over many men; birth, fortune, talent, eloquence, the affection of rich and poor, have placed me very high: but as all power comes from God, I fear lest I should abuse mine to the injury of my soul; for I know only too well that the more there is given to me, the more will be demanded of me. . . . I please myself sometimes with good thoughts, but the unforeseen necessities of my position turn me away from them; I am drawn from them sometimes by the oversight of the king's labourers, sometimes by the cares of military exercises, the payment of the soldiers, the decision of lawsuits, the punishment of criminals, and many other affairs in which it is hard not to do wrong to any one."[3] The archbishop calmed the duke's anxieties by recommending him to found in some part of his domains a monastery, the monks of which

[1] "Dux inclytus . . . domi religione, foris virium exercitatione et disciplinæ militaris usu percelebris, nobilitatem quam natales contulerant, morum venustate perornans, jocundi vultus et hilaris aspectu, reverendus urbana facundia, comis sermone, &c. . . ."—*Chron. Rameseens.*, c. 8, *ad Vit. S. Oswaldi* in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii. p. 718.

[2] Monk of Fleury and Archbishop of York.

[3] "Ego enim homo sub alterius potestate, super alios potestatem exercens, quem ingenuitas generis, quem opum copia terrenarum, &c. . . . attollit . . . quem etsi bonis forte juvat aliquando studiis implicari, improbus contrariæ necessitudinis non permittit accessus, . . . me enim seu angariarum regalium, seu exercitationum bellicarum . . . seu aliorum quorumlibet negotiorum forensium . . . importuna vexatio defatigat."—*Chron. Rames., loc. cit.*

should pray for him.[1] Æthelwin adopted the idea eagerly; and thus rose, in the midst of the fens of Huntingdonshire, the great abbey of Ramsey, which the Anglo-Saxon lord endowed richly with estates, which he protected with the tenderest solicitude, and which he chose as his sepulchre.

Sometimes it was a sudden and irresistible inspiration which dictated to generous hearts these acts of great and constant munificence. This, for instance, is what is related by Count Hugh of Champagne at the end of a deed which recites the numerous gifts made by him to the abbey of Molesmes: "We were coming from the council of Troyes,[2] Hugh, William Count of Nevers, and I, and we were going to Molesmes to settle different affairs. In spite of us, the brothers came in procession to receive us. At the end of the procession my heart was, as I believe, touched by God; in presence of the Abbot Dom Robert, and the other monks still in their albs, I approached the altar, and placed upon it my ring, taken from my finger, to show that I made over to them half the lands of Rumilly, of which, however, I retain the use during my life, having already given them the whole of the first half of these lands. The count of Nevers, the viscount of Damecy,[3] the count of Bar, and others, acted as witnesses for me."[4]

Sometimes it was to sanctify their entrance into the order of knighthood that the nobles presented these pious gifts. William de Tancarville, chamberlain of Normandy, and grandson of the founder of St. George's at Bocherville, obeyed one of these impulses when he came, the fifth day

[1] "Quorum precibus et defectus suppleri et peccata tua possent expiari." —*Chron. Rames.*, p. 719.

[2] Held by the cardinal legate, Richard, Bishop of Albano, in 1104.

[3] Damiciaci?

[4] "Post processionem vero, ut credo, divinitus tactus, in præsentia domini Roberti abbatis ceterorumque monachorum adhuc in albis astantium, accessi ad altare . . . extracto de proprio digito annulo in donum de tota potestate super altare ponens, deincepsque perpetuo possidendam contradidi."—*Deed of confirmation granted at Châtillon in* 1108, ap. MABILL., *Ann.*, vol. v., Append., No. 60.

after having been armed a knight, to offer at the altar of St. George his sword, which he ransomed by giving several churches to the monastery.[1]

Sometimes the purpose of donations and alms was to expiate culpable extravagance, as is confessed by Arnold de Lay, who, *to live generously according to the dignity of the century*, and not to seem miserly, had loaded himself with debt, and had no longer even the means of giving alms. Being reduced to borrow two thousand sous from the monks of Savigny in the Lyonnais, Arnold repaid the obligation by the gift of the village of Vindreu.[2]

Sometimes, finally, the donors despoiled themselves in order to seal the generous pardon of a mortal offence; such was the wish of Roland, Seigneur of Lyré,[3] when he brought the murderer of his brother to Marmoutier, and placed him in the hands of the abbot and chapter, that he might be tried and punished. There the homicide, who was named William Girolet, was able to atone for his crime by giving up, for the benefit of his victim's soul, all that he possessed in the parish of Saint Sauveur; and this sacrifice was made symbolically by laying on the high altar of the

[1] "Quinto die post susceptum militiæ cingulum . . . ibi obtuli gladium meum super altare S. Georgii, et tunc, consilio et admonitione sociorum meorum, nobilium virorum, scilicet Roberti de Sis, dapiferi mei, &c., redemi gladium meum per dona et confirmationem plurium ecclesiarum." —ORDERIC. VITAL., l. vii. p. 698. This fact belongs to the year 1114. In transcribing it and some others which we quote in this chapter, we have passed the chronological limit that we had fixed for this first examination of the Monastic Orders; but in this class of facts there is no difference between the tenth and eleventh centuries on one hand, and the twelfth on the other, as indeed will be seen in the continuation of this history when we have to speak of the life of St. Bernard. Moreover, in order to avoid repetitions, it was necessary to endeavour to bring together in our work any analogous features.

[2] In 1128. "Vir nobilis . . . quia secundum seculi dignitatem gloriose vixeram, et ne parcus viderer, multa largiendo ære alieno oppressus fueram, nec habebam in thesauris unde clamor pauperum posset reprimi," &c.—MARTÈNE, *Ann.*, book lxxv., No. 46.

[3] Lyriaci?

abbey a penance-rod,[1] after which the generous Seigneur of Lyré added to this ransom of his brother's life a tithe of his own vineyards.

Moreover, these noble benefactors took care themselves to reveal the thoughts which animated them, and we are perfectly acquainted with the motives which led them thus to strip themselves of their wealth. The gratitude of those they enriched has preserved their narratives in the charters of foundation or donation, which form the grandest titles ever possessed by any nobility. They are so numerous that we may take one at hazard. "To Almighty God," says William Count of Provence, in giving Manosque to the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles—"to Almighty God, who has given us all we have, we desire to offer in return some portion of His own gifts in the form of alms or allodium, to Him and to His holy martyr Victor."[2] "If it is just," says Odo Count of Blois, son of the restorer of Marmoutier—"if it is just, and according to Christian piety, that the great ones of the century apportion for the maintenance of the churches, where they serve God, a share of the riches which they have received by hereditary right and lawful succession from their ancestors, it would be in the highest degree unjust not to restore to the house of God what it has been robbed of by the iniquities of the past."[3]

Most frequently it was the interest of their souls which

[1] "Generale capitulum, monachis hinc inde residentibus, intravit et pro anima ejus quem occiderat, . . . cum virgula disciplinali . . . donum inde cum ipsa virgula super majus altare posuit."—*Archiv. Maj. Monast.*, ap. MARTÈNE, *Annal. Bened.*, book lxxiv., No. 170.

[2] "In 1013. " . . . Offerimus atque donamus omnipotenti Deo, qui nobis dedit omnia quæ habemus, de ipsis donis suis aliquid in eleemosyna ad proprium alodem sanctoque Victori ejus martyri, et abbati præsenti domno Wilfredo. . . ."—MABILL., *Ann. Bened.*, vol. iv. p. 216.

[3] In 1027. "Si justum esse credimus et christianæ pietati congruum ut potentes sæculi hujus de propriis facultatibus quas a prioribus suis jure hereditario possidendas per legitimas successiones suscipiunt, ecclesiis Dei famulantibus unde sustententur, tribuant," &c.—MABILL., *Ibid.*, Append., No. 41.

guided the givers. "I, Gervais"—so runs the deed of gift of a noble of Maine in favour of Marmoutier—"I, Gervais, who belong to the chivalry of the age, caring for the salvation of my soul, and considering that I shall never reach God by my own prayers and fasting, have resolved to recommend myself in some way to those who night and day serve God by these practices; so that, thanks to their intercession, I may be able to obtain that salvation which I of myself am unable to merit."[1] "It is written," says a knight of Aquitaine, "that almsgiving extinguishes sin as water extinguishes fire. And having well considered this, I, Codoère of Guillac, yield and give up my forges and their dependencies to the monastery of La Sauve."[2] "The prudent ant," says Peter, Seigneur of Maule in Vexin, at the founding of the priory of his own name for the benefit of the Abbey of St. Evroul—"the prudent ant, as she sees winter approach, makes the more haste to bring in her stores, so as to assure herself of abundant food during the cold weather. I, Peter, profiting by this lesson, and desirous, though a sinner and unworthy, to provide for my future destiny—I have desired that the bees of God may come to gather their honey in my orchards, so that when their fair hive shall be full of rich combs of this honey, they may be able, while giving thanks to their Creator, to remember sometimes him by whom the hive was given."[3]

[1] "Ego Gervasius homo militiæ sæculari deditus, curam gerens de salute animæ meæ, et perpendens me jejuniis et orationibus meis ad Deum pervenire non posse, cogitavi aliquo modo me illis commendare, qui Deo in talibus die ac nocte deserviunt, ut eorum intercessionibus quæ per me non poteram, salutem illam mererer invenire," &c.—*Act. SS. O. B.*, in *Vit. S. Bartholom. abb.*, vol. ix. p. 394, ad ann. 1070.

[2] About 1106. "Scriptum est quod sicut aqua extinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna extinguit peccatum. Quod ego, Codoerius, percipiens concedo forgia. . . ."—*Chartul. Maj.*, fol. 50, ap. CIROT, *Histoire de Notre-Dame de la Sauve*, vol. ii. p. 13.

[3] "Unde formica prudens, tanto attentius quanto hiemem venire sentit ocius. . . . Apes Dei meis in viridariis eo tenore mellificare volui, quatinus cum canistra sua gemmata favis plena fuerint, Creatori suo exinde referent laudes, atque sui benefactoris sint aliquando memores"

Monasteries thus founded, restored, or enriched, were regarded by the nobles as the most precious appanage of their houses. Thus, Count Theobald of Blois and Champagne, son of that Odo whom we have recently quoted, having been defeated and taken prisoner by the Count of Anjou, and finding himself obliged to cede Touraine as ransom, chose at least to reserve expressly for himself and his descendants the patronage of Marmoutier, near Tours.[1] This patronage, apart from the abuses which pertain to the lawyers, was at once an honour and a burden. It was not enough to build monasteries and endow them; being founded, they must be preserved. It was constantly necessary to repair, to re-establish, and to protect these holy houses, exposed as they were to all the vicissitudes of the times, and to all the violences of a society expressly organised for war. Omitting some regrettable exceptions, the chivalry of Europe did not fail in this noble mission, which was imposed as a duty of their rank.[2] Who can tell the number of those knights whom the historian Aimoin saw arrive, sword in hand, for the defence of Fleury?[3] After having drunk to the memory of the venerable Father Benedict, and eaten of the monks' bread, these valiant men rushed upon the enemies of the monastery and put them to rout.[3] How many times was there found, for the protection

(here follows the enumeration of the lands given).—*Deed of* 1076, ap. ORDER. VIT., l. v. pp. 440, 442, ed. Leprévost. The learned editor adds that one of the churches built by Peter de Maule was completely razed after the Revolution, except the base of a tower, which was turned into a dwelling.

[1] See the charter of the son of this Count Theobald, who died in 1090, ap. MABILL., *Ann.*, vol. v., Append., No. 40.

[2] "Est nobilium hominum quosque religiosos pro posse suo venerari eorumque possessiones tueri et augmentando de suis propriis largitionibus accrescere."—Charter quoted in DOM LOBINEAU, *Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. ii. p. 292.

[3] Towards the year 1000. "Vino in amore patris Benedicti prius epoto . . . panes ex iis quibus monachi vescebantur, quos ipse cum suis certamen intraturus, in escam sumeret."—AIMOIN. FLOR., ap. DUCHESNE, *Script. Franc.*, iv. 138, 140. The body of St. Benedict was at Fleury.

of the nearest or most honoured abbey, an association of seigneurs like that of the ten knights of Guienne, who, taking as leader the nephew of the noble Duke William of Aquitaine, united themselves under the title of *defenders and protectors of the Abbey of Notre-Dame de la Sauve*, and, after having communicated, kissed the paten and caused their swords to be blessed in the church of the monastery, engaged themselves by oath to avenge the injuries suffered by the monks, to defend their property, and to protect the pilgrims who visited them![1]

Even those who did not fight for the abbey, acknowledged, in time of war, the rights of monasteries to special protection—a protection which these holy communities extended in turn to the poor, and to the inhabitants of their neighbourhood.[2] Those who transgressed this law of piety and honour, who despoiled or insulted the defenceless monks, were objects of the fierce derision of their fellows. "Come," they cried, "and measure yourselves with us. *We* do not wear cowl and capuchin; we are knights like yourselves. We defy you to combat; we will teach you what war means."[3]

[1] Towards 1080. CIROT DE LA VILLE, *History of the Abbey and Congregation of Notre-Dame de la Sauve*, vol. i. p. 297. The author gives the names of the ten knights, among whom are the Count of Bigorre, two viscounts of Blanquefort, &c.

[2] "Parnenses autem exultabant, eo quod monachis subderentur, sperantes ut eorum patrocinio contra collimitaneos Normannos tutarentur." —ORDER. VIT., book iii. p. 132, ed. Leprévost. The protection enjoyed by the serfs and peasants belonging to monasteries is shown by many anecdotes, related by Aimoin of Fleury and by Raoul called Tortarius, on the miracles obtained by St. Benedict at Fleury, in the environs, at Pressy in Burgundy, &c. There may be found, also, a touching instance of the force of this intervention, in the case of a holy monk alone and on a journey, for the benefit of a population suffering from the march of invading armies, in the narrative of Raoul, a monk of St. Trond, ap. D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 659, quoted also by DIGBY, *Mores Cath.*, x. 361, and by STENTZEL, *Geschichte der Fränckischen Kaiser, in fin.*, vol. ii.

[3] "Cum opprobrio et derisione a militibus sibi obviis frequenter audierunt: *Huc venite, milites. Non enim cucullati, seu coronati sumus; sed milites in armis vos ad bella provocamus. Socii vestri sumus; experiri*

This constant solicitude of knights and nobles for the monasteries was shown in a variety of minute and affectionate cares, the recital of which animates and embellishes the monastic annals. We see there that the greatest personages of the feudal system did not regard as beneath them the smallest precautions which related to monks. William VIII., Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers, did not think it enough to have founded and richly endowed the abbey of Montierneuf in his capital of Poitiers,[1] after having[2] made a journey to Rome to confer about it with Pope Gregory VII.;[3] at his return from his frequent expeditions—undertaken either to subdue rebellious feudatories, punish oppressors, or restore security to the roads or villages—he never failed, before entering his palace, to pay a visit to the monks, whom he called his lords.[4] He went even into their kitchen, and inquired of the cellarer what the monks were going to eat that day; and if he heard that it was only eggs, cheese, or very small fish, he would order his treasurer to provide the cost of a more nourishing diet.[5] In return, the monks, after William's death, showed

debetis quid agere possumus. Improperiis hujusmodi crebre erubuerunt, et plures eorum duros ictus perpessi corruerunt."—ORDER. VIT., book xiii. p. 904. It may be noted, also, with what zeal and courage two knights named Adalbert and Bozon hurried to the help of the abbey of Stavelot, in the time of Abbot Poppo, in 1020, and put to flight the invaders of the monastery.—EVERHELM., *Vit. S. Popponis*, No. 20, in *Act. SS.* BOLLAND., January, vol. ii.

[1] In 1075.

[2] Charter of 1086, quoted by M. DE CHERGÉ, ex MSS. D. FONTENEAU, *Mém. des Antiquaires de l'Ouest*, ann. 1844, p. 249.

[3] "Ita cervicositatem Aquitanorum procerum sibi subdiderat . . . tanto terrore cunctos per fuderat, ut nec in ipsis hominibus illi tyrannice potestatis jure auderent, ut prius soliti erant, grassari. Tanta pace regnum Aquitanise potiebatur, ut nunquam auditum sit uspiam viatorem aut ruricolam disturbatum fuisse."—MARTINI MONACHI, *Hist. Monast. Nov.*, ap. MARTÈNE, *Thesaur. Anecd.*, vol. iii. p. 1215.

[4] "Non ante ad palatium descendebat . . . quos suos ipse dominos vocabat."—MARTINI MONACHI, *Ibid.*, p. 1214.

[5] "Ipse quidem in coquinam ibat, et cellarium quid monachi comesturi erant interrogabat: a quo cum audiret ova aut caseum, vel certe de

the most affectionate anxiety for his soul; and beside the daily prayers on his behalf and the solemn celebration of his anniversary, they caused his cover to be laid every day in the refectory, with the *justitia*,[1] or measure of wine allotted to each monk, as if the duke were one of them, and was going to sit down with them to their meal. Sometimes the givers stipulated beforehand the price to be paid for their generosity. Thus, this same Duke William of Aquitaine, when he granted to the abbey of Grande-Sauve the right of *sauvetat*—that is to say, the right of having a special court, being freed from all jurisdiction and all imposts and tolls, and the right of asylum and sanctuary for pilgrims and travellers—stipulated that in exchange for this they should sing a mass for him every week, and should every day give to the poor the rations of one monk, for his benefit, as long as the abbey church should stand.[2] Twenty-four years later, after having founded the Church of St. Barthélemy on his estate of La Barde, and having given it to La Grande-Sauve, with many other offerings, Raymond Sanche de St. Paul, when on his deathbed, surrounded by seventy knights, demanded that, in gratitude for his gifts and in memory of his name, they should receive and entertain in the priory one poor man, in perpetual succession for ever.[3]

The responsibility they thus took upon them of maintaining the prosperity and independence of the monks, and

minutis pisciculis, statim suo stipendiario jubebat ut nummos exhiberet ad meliora fercula præparanda."—MARTINI MONACHI, p. 1214.

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 1217.

[2] "Præbenda pro eo pauperibus eroganda quandiu steterit ecclesia."—CIROT, i. 282-285-596; MABILL., *Ann. Ben.*, vol. v., Append., No. 14.

[3] Towards 1156.—*Chartul. Majus*, No. 180, ap. CIROT, ii. 91. In 1182, Pierre de Rions, another benefactor of the abbey of Grande-Sauve, caused five of the principal monks to be summoned to his deathbed. He took in his arms his son, who was still a child, and begged the monks to be as a father to him; then he received from them the monastic habit, and died in peace.—*Chartul. Majus*, f. 82; CIROT, *Hist. of La Grande-Sauve*, vol. ii. p. 3.

so securing the salvation of their own souls, they called, according to the expression of Pope Victor II., *doing the work of God*. The Pope wrote in the following terms to Count Theobald of Blois: "We know the anxiety which animates you on the subject of good and bad monks, and the glory which the Almighty has caused you to win before all men, on account of it. . . . The Abbot of Montierender has related to us with tears of joy all the services which the greatness of your piety has rendered to his abbey, in correcting unworthy brothers, causing his villages, mills, and other property to be restored to him, and rebuilding his bridges to the great satisfaction of many, as far off as the isles of the sea in England and Scotland, and to the great displeasure of the wicked. We give you abundant thanks, and we exhort you always to remember that if you listen to those who speak to you of God, God will listen to those who pray to Him for you. For this is why the Almighty Lord has intrusted the government of the people to good men; it is that by their hands He spreads abroad the gifts of His omnipotence among those whose chiefs they are. Do the work of God, and God will do yours."[1] When, in the course of their warlike lives, these princes and seigneurs had not *done the work of God*, when they had failed in this sovereign duty, with what humility they sought to expiate their fault! When Count Geoffrey of Vendôme had violated the immunities of the burgher vassals of the great abbey of the Holy Trinity, founded by his father at Vendôme itself, we see him, touched by the grace of repentance, and by the exhor-

[1] "Quia si pro Deo loquentes auditis, pro vobis orantes Omnipotens idem exaudiet. Propter hoc omnipotens Deus bonos quosque ad populorum regimina perducit, ut per eos omnibus quibus prælati fuerint dona suæ potestatis impendat. Facite quod Dei est, et Deus faciet quod vestrum est."—MABILL., *Ann.*, l. lx., No. 80, ad ann. 1056. St. Gregory VII. wrote in the same way to Countess Aldilasia, recommending to her the abbeys of Fructuières and of St. Michel at Cluses: "Ad hoc tibi a Domino et honoris dignitas et potentiæ amplitudo concessa est, ut in suo suorumque servitio expendatur, et tu eis carnalia tua libenter impertiens, de spiritualibus eorum participium merearis."—*Ep.*, i. 37.

tations of the apostolic legates, entering the abbey church barefoot, throwing himself at the knees of the abbot, and swearing, while he placed on the altar his poniard and four silver coins, that he would henceforward respect the right of the monks.[1]

Let us now suppose ourselves present at the last moments of one of the greatest nobles of Germany and Italy in the eleventh century, Godfrey with the Beard, Duke of Lorraine and Tuscany, husband of the Countess Beatrix, and indomitable rival of the Emperors. Feeling his end approach, he implores Thierry, Abbot of St. Hubert, to come to Bouillon to receive his last confession. The monk arrives, and at the sight of the duke lying in the agonies of death, far from seeking to conciliate him by softness, he lifts his eyes to heaven, and addressing himself to God in the language of the prophet, "Lord," he says, "Thou hast brought down this proud man as one wounded!" "Nothing is more true, dearest father," replies the duke; then having made his confession in the midst of tears and sobs, he calls for his sword, and giving it with his own hand to the abbot, says to him, "My father, I yield it to you; you shall bear me witness, at the judgment of God, that I have humbly renounced the chivalry of the age." Then remembering the promise of a monastic foundation which he had made in presence of the Pope himself, he caused himself to be carried, followed by his son and his nobles, to the Church of St. Peter of the Bridge; and having solemnly endowed it with some lands and a thousand livres of silver out of his patrimony, he makes a present of it to the abbey of St. Hubert, and requests that the monks may be immediately installed. At the sound of the bell which calls the brothers to their canonical hours, the duke feels himself refreshed, and forgets all his sufferings.[2]

[1] "Quatuor solidos cum cultello suo."—MABILL., *Ann.*, l. lxix., No. 92.

[2] "Tu humiliasti sicut vulneratum superbum. Dux ad verbum abbatis compunctus: Pater, ait, carissime, nihil verius. Gladium suum deferri jussit, quem . . . abbati reddendum præsentavit, eumque sibi testem

The son of Godfrey, the unworthy husband of the famous Countess Matilda, deferred for a long time the execution of his father's donation; but the sound of the monastery bells, which had consoled the old man's last moments, served this time to trouble the conscience and vanquish the greed of the avaricious young one. During a winter night, when he had given up his own bed to his guest, Bishop Hermann of Metz, beside whom he was sleeping, the bishop, awakened by the bell for matins, asked what monks lived in the neighbourhood; to which the duke replied, they were those whom his father had placed at St. Peter's of the Bridge. "Happy those," said the bishop, "whom neither the dulness of night nor the inclemency of the bitter winter prevent from praising the Creator of the world! But unhappy, a thousand times unhappy, thou, whom neither the fear of God nor the love of a father canst move! Unhappy thou, who hast fraudulently detained the alms he gave, and still refusest them to brothers so pious!"[1] The duke, confounded, burst into tears, and without further delay repaired his fault.

The nightly chant of the monks, which thus awoke remorse in the souls of the negligent, on the other hand filled with courage and confidence the sons of knights who had faithfully done the duties of their rank and kept their engagements towards the servants of God. For example, two

futurum, &c., inclamavit. . . . Auditis campanis quibus horæ canonicæ monachico ritu significabantur, ejusdem infirmitatis quasi oblitus, quadam mentis hilaritate recrearetur. . . . Ex quo enim cœpit infirmari nullos convivas nisi pauperes habere voluit. Hujus, inquit, officinæ semper procurator esse debuissem, si mihi," &c.—*Hist. Andaginensis*, c. 32, in *Ampl. Collect.*, vol. iv. He died in 1070, and his son Godfrey the Hunchback in 1076.

[1] "Inhorruerat hyems asperrima, exceptus a duce ut decebat . . . cum post cœnam in lecto ducis pausaret, duce altrinsecus in eadem camera quiescente. . . . Miratus episcopus ea tali hora campanas audire, interrogavit. . . . Tu quoque infelicior infelicissimis, quem necdum emolliunt vel timor Dei, vel amor patris, qui eleemosynam ejus defraudaveris," &c. —*Hist. Andaginensis*, c. 38.

centuries after the epoch which has been the special object of our researches, Count Ralph of Chester, founder of the Cistercian Abbey of Deulacres,[1] was coming back from the crusade in which Damietta had been taken, and in which he had covered himself with glory,[2] when a violent storm assailed his ship. Towards ten o'clock in the evening, as the danger every moment increased, the Count exhorted the exhausted crew to redouble their exertions until midnight, promising them that at that time the tempest would cease.[3] At midnight he himself lent a hand, and worked harder than anybody.[4] Soon afterwards the wind fell, the sea grew calm; and when the pilot asked Ralph why he had commanded them to work until midnight only, the Count answered, "Because from that hour the monks and other religious persons whom my ancestors and I have established in different places, rose to sing the divine service; and when I knew that they were at prayer, I had reason to hope that, thanks to them, God would command the tempest to cease."[5]

[1] In 1214. The name of the abbey was given in the following manner: The grandfather of Ralph ordered his grandson, in a vision, to remove the white friars of Pulton to a more convenient site. Ralph announced to his wife, Clémence de Fougères, his resolution to obey the injunction; to which, says the chronicler, the Countess replied, *Gallicis verbis*, "*Deux encres*," or "*Deu lacres*"—that is to say, *God prosper it.* And then the Count, "congratulans ad dictum ejus:" "*Hoc*," inquit, "*erit nomen ejus loci, Deulacres.*"—DUGDALE, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vol. i. p. 890, ed. 1682.

[2] "Ubi Ranulfus comes dux Christianiæ cohortis præstitit gloriosa."—*Ibid.*

[3] "Laborate interim usque ad mediam noctem. . . . Gubernator navis dixit ad comitem: Domine, commenda te ipsum Deo, quia tempestas crescit et nos deficimus laborare, et in periculo vitæ sumus."

[4] "Cœpit juvare fortissime in rudentibus et antemnis . . . plus quam omnes viri qui erant in nave."—DUGDALE, *Ibid.*

[5] "Quia e media nocte deinceps monachi mei, et alii religiosi quos progenitores mei et ego in diversis locis fundavimus, surrexerunt ad cantandum servicium divinum, et tunc confisus sum in eorum orationibus," &c. —*Ibid.* William le Breton, in his "Philippéide," c. iv., relates a similar story of the confidence of Philip Augustus in the prayers of the monks of Clairvaux, during a terrible storm which assailed him in the Straits of Messina, on his way to the Holy Land, and which ceased after midnight, at the hour when matins commenced at Clairvaux.

But it was not only a pious confidence in the prayers offered in the monasteries which kept up among the princes and feudal lords their respect for old foundations; this respect was, above all, strengthened in their hearts through the terror inspired in faithful believers by those fearful maledictions which their ancestors had fulminated against whoever should attempt to despoil the monks. It is, in fact, rare to find any deed having reference to a foundation or donation made by the nobles, which does not contain express mention of menaces and imprecations hurled by the founders or donors on the heads of future spoilers, as if they had foreseen that a day would come when that patrimony which men of the first rank had offered for the use of God, the Church, and the poor,[1] should become the prey of the barbarous and the sacrilegious. The formulas employed varied little. Among those preserved to us in such great numbers in the various collections of charters, we will take two from the cartulary of the abbey of St. Père at Chartres, because they belong to the eleventh century and to the time of St. Gregory VII. One of them was pronounced, *vivâ voce*, in 1080, by Walter de Garancières, a knight who, when giving part of his property to the monks of St. Père, spoke thus: "I make this donation with the consent of my son, in presence of several witnesses; and I implore the Lord to smite with His curse all who shall infringe the said donation; so that, if they do not repent, they may expiate their crime in hell with Judas the traitor."[2] The other is found in the act by which a knight

[1] "*Ob pauperum Christi recreationem*," are the terms used in the deed of gift of Reynauld, Seigneur of Chatillon, to the Abbey of Saint Benignus, in 1038, ap. PÉRARD, *Recueil de pièces curieuses*, p. 186.

[2] "Hanc donationem, per assensum filii mei Gualterii, in præsentia plurimorum hominum, faciens, imprecor maledictionem omnibus nitentibus contraire præfatæ donationi, ut in inferno, nisi resipuerint, cum Juda proditore pœnas luant."—GUÉRARD, *Cartulary of St. Père*, i. 222. Félibien, in the *Pièces justificatives de l'Histoire de St. Denis*, No. 2, quotes on the same subject a charter of Theodetrude, daughter of Brodulphe, under Dodo, Abbot of St. Denis, in 627: "Propterea rogo et contestor coram Deo

named Guaszo surrendered his property to the abbey where he became a monk, in 1053, to expiate the excesses of his military life,[1] and is expressed as follows: "If any one attempt in future to oppose or to deduct anything from this my donation, may he be smitten with the curse of Ham, who revealed his father's shame; if he does not repent, may he go to hell with Dathan and Abiram, whom the earth swallowed alive—with Judas the traitor, who hanged himself by the neck—and with Nero, who crucified St. Peter and beheaded St. Paul: may he remain in hell, and never leave it until the devil himself is pardoned."[2]

et angelis ejus et omni natione hominum tam propinquis quam extraneis, ut nullus contra deliberatione mea (*sic*) impedimentum S. Dyonisio de hac re . . . facere præsumat . . . si fuerit quia manus suas" (the text has "minus suus") "ad hoc apposuerit faciendo, æternus rex peccata mea absolvat, et ille maledictus in inferno inferiori et anathema et Maranatha percussus cum Juda cruciandus descendat, et peccatum quem amittit in filios et in domo sua crudelissima plaga ut leprose pro hujus culpa a Deo percussus, ut non sit qui inhabitet in domo ejus, ut eorum plaga in multis timorem concutiat, et quantum res ipsa meliorata valuerit, duplex satisfactione fisco egenti exolvat."—DOM M. FÉLIBIEN, *Hist. de S. Denys, pièces justif.*, No. 2.

[1] "*Sub balteo militari multis implicatus criminibus*," he says of himself in his charter.

[2] "Si quis autem huic largitioni meæ contraire aut minuere ex hac re quippiam temptaverit, maledictione Cham, qui patris pudenda deridenda fratribus ostendit, feriatur, et cum Dathan et Abiron, quos terra vivos absorbuit, et cum Juda traditore, qui se suspendit laqueo, et cum Nerone, qui Petrum in cruce suspendit et Paulum decollavit, nisi resipuerit, et ad satisfactionibus remedium confugerit, cum diabolo in inferno pœnas luat, donec abiturus veniam cum diabolus est accepturus. Amen."—*Cart. of St. Père*, ii. 624, ann. 1053.

CHAPTER II

THE NOBLES PEOPLE THE MONASTERIES WHICH THEY HAVE FOUNDED

Nobles becoming monks before their death.—Bouchard de Melun.—The monastic habit adopted at the hour of death.—Consent of wives and children asked.—Calmine, Count of Auvergne, and the grand feudatory Romaric, under the Merovingians.—The monk Amat at Luxeuil.—Counts Rodin, Unroc, and Badillon.—The Belgian nobility in the tenth century.—Guibert de Gembloux.—Gérard de Brogne.—Ansfred de Louvain.—St. Robert, founder of the Chaise-Dieu, and his disciples.—St. Adelelme of Louvain in the eleventh century.—St. Gérard of Picardy founds the Grande-Sauve in Guienne.—Other Picard knights imitate Gérard.—Gascon knights.—German knights and peasants monks at Hirschau.—Many feudal lords monks under Gregory VII.—Ebrard de Breteuil, Thibalt de Provins, Simon Count of Valois, &c.—The example of the latter attracts illustrious personages.—Garnier de Montmorillon.—Arnoul de Pamèle, &c.—Foundation of Afflighem by penitent knights.—Humility of the nobles in monasteries.—Frederic of Lorraine at St. Vannes.—Raoul d'Osmond and his wife.—Numerous conversions among the feudal aristocracy.—What the nobles hoped for in becoming monks.

FROM the eighth to the thirteenth century all the monasteries in Europe, except the small number which owed their existence to the piety of kings, were founded by the feudal aristocracy,[1] in this sense that they received from the hands of the nobles the territorial endowments which were necessary for their support. But these nobles were not content with founding abbeys and endowing them richly; they themselves entered them in crowds, they peopled them with their bravest and most illustrious children.[2] For it did not suffice

[1] HURTER, vol. iv. pp. 56, 102.

[2] St. John Chrysostom ("*Adversus oppugnatores vitæ monasticæ*") describes the fury of a rich father who sees his only son "*inhonestius vestitum*

these generous knights to deprive themselves of their wealth for the love of Christ; it was above all, of their persons, their liberty, their pride, their entire being, that they aspired to make an offering to the Lord of Hosts. When penitence touched their hearts, they were not satisfied with diminishing their ancestral patrimony to augment that of the Church and the poor—it was by immolating their whole nature, by bending all their habits and all their passions to the yoke of monastic rule, that they hoped to atone for the faults and excesses of their youth, or the sometimes barbarous abuses of their power.[1] These abuses are commemorated in many charters. There we see tyrannical and rapacious knights as well as discontented and rebellious serfs;[2] but of these most ended by being converted.[3] Monks sprung from the conquering race excluded no one from their communities; they treated serfs, peasants, workmen, and the burghers of the towns, as their brethren, and very often obeyed them, though they were themselves generally the most numerous, and, it may be boldly affirmed, also the most holy. After having occupied the foremost place in parliaments, in royal courts, or on the field of battle, they would not consent to be last in the race of penitence and of piety. Thus they were rarely

atque ad abjectura missum." . . . They persuade this son of a noble race, says the personage brought on the scene by Chrysostom, "*ut, spretis omnibus, vestem se rusticam induat, ac, relicta urbe, ad montem confugiat, ibique plantet, riget, aquam ferat, cæteraque monachorum faciat opera quæ vilia et indigna esse videantur,*" &c.

[1] The monastic chronicles are full of stories which show us how knights, previously known for their sanguinary violences, and justly described as "*feri homines*," were constantly transformed into docile and humble "converts."—See the *Annals of Corbie*, date 871, for what is there related of Ecceric, ap. LEIBNITZ, *Script. Brunswicenses*, quoted by Digby, x. 387.

[2] V. GUÉRARD, *Polyptique d'Irminon*, vol. ii. p. 370.

[3] Among monastic writers the word conversion means taking the vows of a religious order. They call those "converts" who renounced the world to embrace a cloistered life, in order to distinguish them from children offered or given to monasteries by their parents.—(V. Reg. S. Bened., cap. 58 and 63; ST. GREG. MAGN., *Epist.* 7; ST. ANSELM., *De Contentione inter monachos nutritos et conversos.*)

passed in the narrow road of austerity, of voluntary humiliations, and of the roughest labours. They devoted themselves to the most irksome tasks, not out of melancholy or weariness of life, but, as they loftily proclaimed, to gain heaven upon earth, to obtain the pardon of their sins, or to expiate the crimes committed by their race. And these were not, as has been so often said, and as we have seen in later times, younger sons, the impoverished, or those branded by nature or fortune; they were, on the contrary, the richest, the most famous, the most powerful, elder sons, and heads of houses, sometimes even the last scions of the most illustrious lines, who, in becoming monks, transformed into monasteries their feudal fortresses, the cradles and the centres of their power.[1] Throughout the duration of the feudal era, and in all the countries of Christendom, innumerable lords and knights thus merited the eulogy pronounced by history on the ancestors of the holy Pope Leo IX.: "After having, by force of arms and valour, vanquished all who withstood them in war, they were able in their old age to trample under foot the pride of birth and the luxury of the world, to clothe themselves with the humility and poverty of Christ, to give their patrimony to churches, to found monasteries, and to follow the precepts of Christ, in the monastic habit, to the glorious day of their death."[2]

It was the desire of most of these generous benefactors of monasteries to end their lives in the peace of the cloister, and in the habit which they had so long honoured. Thus did the Counts of Vendôme and of Blois, and the Sire de Talmont; and before them, Fulk the Black, Count of Anjou,

[1] This is what was done in Germany by the Counts of Andechs, Scheyern, Arnstein, the lords of Cappenberg, Dorstadt, and others.—HURTER, vol. iii. p. 430.

[2] "Quorum patres et avi, armis et animis, supra modum fortiter acie compresserunt sibi resistentes, circa senium, abjecta omni superbia generis et luxu mundi, induerant humilitatem et paupertatem Christi . . . cœnobia construendo in suis et ex suis prædiis . . . laudabilique per cuncta fine decesserunt."—WIBERT, *Vit. S. Leonis*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, c. 1.

Seneschal of France,[1] Milo, Count of Tonnerre, who retired to the abbey restored by him at the gates of his own town,[2] the three Williams,[3] Dukes of Aquitaine and Counts of Poitou, and later, Adalbert,[4] Count of Calw, the indefatigable champion of the Holy See, and restorer of the great monastery of Hirschau, where he became a monk before he died. Thus also did many others, among whom none showed himself more zealous than Bouchard, Count of Melun and Corbeil, friend and supporter of Hugh Capet. Bouchard had laboured, during part of his life, to bring about the reform of St. Maur-les-Fossés, near Paris;[5] and in his old age, offering to this much-loved abbey the glorious sword which had often defended it,[6] he himself took the vows there. He proposed to fill the office of the lowest of the acolytes, and said to the monks who dissuaded him, "When I had the honour to be a knight, a count, and leader of many other knights, in the world, I was very willing to carry before a mortal king the light which he required; how much more then, now that I am in the service of the immortal Emperor of Heaven,

[1] In 997.

[2] In 980. "*Comam capitis et barbam totondit.*"—Deed quoted by MABILL., *Annal.*, book xlix. c. iii.

[3] William *Tow-head*, who took the habit from the hands of St. Maïeul, and died in 963; William *Strong-arm*, who died a monk at St. Maixent in 990; finally, William V. the *Great*, who went every year on a pilgrimage to Rome or to St. James, founder of Maillezais and of Bourgueil, reformer of St. Jean d'Angely, which he gave to Cluny, the great friend of St. Odilon, and who died in the monastic habit in 1030,—all three successors of Duke William, founder of Cluny in 910.

[4] "Adalbertus, in fidelitate sancti Petri contra schismaticos jam ex antiquo studiosissimus, et demum ex comite monachus factus, feliciter diem clausit extremum in monasterio quod ipse de propriis construxit."—BERTHOLD CONSTANT., ad ann. 1099.

[5] We have already referred to the detailed and very curious account of this reform, brought about by the cares of Count Bouchard, and thanks to the intervention of Cluny; it is to be found in the *Bibl. Cluniac.*, pp. 299, 301.

[6] "Aureus quoque ensis ex quo hoc magnum monasterium dicitur esse inœptum, a lumbis resolutus, ejus dono allatus fuit."—*Vita Burchardi, auct.* ODONE, ap. DUCHESNE, *Script. Hist. Franc.*, vol. iv. p. 122.

should I not carry these tapers before Him, in token of my humble reverence!"[1]

The same spirit induced the Giroies, the Grantmesnils, the Montgommerys, and many other Norman heroes, to bury themselves in monasteries which they had founded or restored. It is but just to cite, as one of the worthiest among these, Hugh d'Avranches, surnamed the Wolf, who was created Count Palatine of Chester by William the Conqueror, and enriched with one hundred and sixty-two manors or lordships in the new kingdom.

In England, as in Normandy, Count Hugh was always to be seen in the first rank. After the Conquest, he succeeded in subduing or retaining the impatient Welsh under the Norman yoke. In spite of the many excesses which disfigured his life, he never lost sight of the interests of God. Restorer, in 1085, of the Abbey of St. Sever, in Normandy, and founder, in 1093, of the monastery of St. Wereburga, in the county of Chester, he ended by becoming a monk in the latter house, and died four days after having entered it.[2]

Often, hindered as they were by marriage or by the engagements of a secular life, the nobles delayed to make the offering of their persons to God until they were on their deathbeds. The instances of solemn investiture in the case of dying nobles are innumerable.[3] We will quote

[1] "Si cum militari honore sublimatus essem, atque, ut dicitis, militum stipatus agmine, comitatus dignitate fulgerem, mortali regi lucerna indigenti cereum manu anteferebam, quanto magis nunc immortali imperatori debeo servire, atque ante ipsum candelabra ardentia manibus cum exhibitione humilitatis reverenter ferre!"—ODONE, ap. DUCHESNE, *Script. Hist. Franc.*, vol. iv. p. 123. Do not these words of Bouchard recall the custom of the *bougeoir*, as it was practised at the *coucher du roi* at Versailles before 1789?

[2] ORDER. VITAL., p. 522, ed. Duchesne. Cf. LE MERCIER, *Avranchin monumental et historique*, vol. i. p. 65.

[3] See chiefly the many charters dictated by knights on their deathbed in the inestimable publication of the *Cartulaires de St. Père de Chartres* and of *St. Bertin*, made with such care by M. Guérard, for the collection of *Documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de France*. These three volumes of the original texts, with the commentaries of the learned editor, are indispensable to the thorough study of monastic institutions. They will be

only one of them, with the touching details furnished to us by a contemporary historian, Ordericus Vitalis.

Peter de Maule, of whom we spoke in the preceding chapter, left a son, Ansold de Maule, who was one of the companions in arms of Robert Guiscard, and aided him to vanquish the Byzantine emperor. When, after fifty-three years of knighthood, Ansold felt himself dying, he sent for his wife and son. He reminded his son of the duty he owed to the Church, to God, to the king, to his vassals, and to the monks endowed by his grandfather; he conjured him to keep towards his subjects that faith which he owed them, and to watch over the tranquillity of the monks, under pain of his paternal curse.[1] Then turning to his wife, Odeline de Mauvoisin, he said to her,—"Dear sister and excellent wife, we have lived together more than twenty years without a quarrel; now I must die: whether I will or no, I feel my end approach. I ask your permission to become a monk, and to take the black robe of St. Benedict. I wish to become the comrade of those who, for the love of Christ, have renounced the charms of the world; and I pray that you, who are my lady, will release me from the conjugal tie, and recommend me faithfully to God, so that I may be worthy to take the dress and tonsure of a monk."[2] The good lady, who, according to the historian, was in the habit of never resisting her husband's will,[3] wept much, but agreed to

advantageously completed by the *Cartulaire de Redon*, yet more ancient and more precious, which M. Aurélien de Courson has recently transcribed, and is about to publish.

[1] "Pontificem tuum ac regem ut patronos tuos time, venerare, &c. . . . hominibus tuis fidem quam debes exhibe, eisque non ut tyrannus, set ut mitis patronus, dominare. . . . Si vero secus, quod absit, egeris, maledictionem ex auctoritate Dei et Sanctorum Patrum tibi relinquo."—ORDER. VITAL., l. v. p. 458, ed. Leprévost.

[2] "Grata soror et amabilis conjux Odelina . . . viximus sine litigio plus quam xx annis . . . velim, nolim, mortis appropinquo confinia . . . Mihi licentia detur a te ut monachus fiam, et indumenta S. Patris Benedicti, quamvis sunt nigra . . . accipiam. . . . A conjugali ergo nexu, quæso, absolve me, domina."—ORDER. VITAL., *Ibid.*, p. 459.

[3] "Bona mulier, ejus voluntati nunquam resistere assueta . . ."—*Ibid.*

his request. Then the monks of the priory of Maule, who had been unwilling to act without the consent of Peter's wife and son, cut off his hair, and clothed him in the monastic dress. He died the next day but one, the Feast of St. John the Evangelist, 1118.

It must be remarked here, that the nobles who thus took the habit always added to the sacrifice of their persons that of a portion of their patrimony; and that, in the case of donations made when dying, as well as of all others, they took care to assure themselves of the consent of their wives and children. This is shown by millions of charters relating to these donations, almost always in terms similar to those used by Raynauld, Lord of Châtillon, who, giving the church of St. Germain-sur-Norge to the Abbey of St. Benignus of Dijon in 1038, thus expresses himself: "To all followers of the Christian law it appears natural and desirable to enrich, according to their means, our holy mother Church, and to provide thus for the wellbeing of Christ's poor; and this for the healing of their own souls, the remission of their sins, and the honour of God's name and of His saints. Considering all this, therefore, and being much disquieted as to the salvation and deliverance of my soul, I have given to the sanctuary of the martyr St. Benignus, near the castle of Dijon, a certain part of the wealth which I derived from my parents by hereditary right; and just as I received it from my ancestors by royal precept, and have held it as allodium, so I give it up to God and His holy martyr Benignus, through the hands of the Abbot Halinard, who has this day consecrated me a monk. The said donation, approved by my wife Elizabeth and our son Humbert, has been presented by their hands, in presence of several prelates and noble lords."[1]

[1] "Omnibus X^{ni} legis cultoribus proprium debet esse et optabile, sanctam matrem Ecclesiam, ob pauperum Christi recreationem, pro posse suo ditare, pro remedio animarum suarum et remissione peccatorum ampliare, ad honorem quoque nominis Dei et sanctorum ejus sublimare.

But however numerous were those seigneurs who chose to pass their last days in the Benedictine frock, there were yet very many more who did not wait for the approach of death, and who, still young, and having a brilliant future before them, tore themselves from grandeur, from riches, from the entanglements of the passions and of warlike enterprise, to give themselves entirely to God, to spend their lives in rustic labours, in the exercises of penitence and of cloistered prayer; in a word, to exchange, as they said, the *servile liberty of a worldly life for a servitude which should give them the freedom of heaven.*[1]

From the earliest gleams of monastic splendour, and before the days of St. Benedict, Sulpicius Severus had remarked the presence of Gallic or Gallo-Roman nobles in the monasteries founded by St. Martin. These nobles, reared in luxury, practised, nevertheless, the harshest austerities. Striking examples have been seen at almost every page of our work. No one can have forgotten the names and deeds of those grand feudatories of the Merovingian epoch who occupied the first rank among the propagators of monastic orders in France. St. Evroul, St. Junien, St. Vandrille,[2] St. Riquier, St. Germer, who endowed famous foundations with their patrimony, their names and their examples, all sepa-

. . . Hæc omnia cogitans, ego Raynaldus, dominus Castellionensis ut pote de salute et liberatione animæ meæ sollicitus, donavi quamdam partem de rebus meis, jure hæreditario a parentibus mihi relictis, ad locum S. Benigni martyris, juxta Divionense castrum siti, et sicut ego der præceptum regale ab antecessoribus meis accepi et ex integro in alodum tenui, ita Deo et S. ejus martyri Benigno tradidi, et in manu Halinardi Divionensis monasterii abbatis, *qui me eodem die monachum fecit*, devote mihi tenentibus mecum et dantibus eamdem donationem, propriis manibus, atque laudantibus conjuge mea Helisabeth, et filio nostro Humberto, in præsentia quorumdam pontificum et nobilium hominum qui præsentes fuerant" (here follows the designation).—PÉRARD, *Recueil de pièces curieuses*, p. 186.

[1] "Quidam liber, de servili libertate se in liberalem servitutem transferens, Deo, qui servire regnare est, et S. Benedicto se ipsum obtulit."—*Monum. Boica*, vol. viii. p. 73, ap. HURTER, vol. iii. p. 461.

[2] Or Vandrégisile.

rated themselves in the flower of their age from the bosom of the highest Frankish nobility. It was the same with St. Yrieix, chancellor of King Theodebert;[1] with St. Ansbert, keeper of the seals to Clotaire III.; and with St. Leger, mayor of the palace of Neustria. Like them, St. Bavon, St. Ghislain, St. Trond, St. Lambert, St. Vincent Madelgar, and the other monkish apostles of the Flemish provinces, had passed through the splendours and the temptations which beset the aristocracy of the period before they submitted themselves to the rule of St. Benedict. Throughout the whole duration of the Merovingian race, striking conversions of this kind flashed through the ranks of the warlike nobility, and peopled the new cloisters which rose all over the country.[2]

There was then nothing more common than to see fine young men, the favourites of kings, and sprung from the highest ranks, offering to the abbey where they wished to become monks their baldricks, and the bracelets which formed part of their court dress.[3] This was done by Lantpert, the successor of Vandrille at Fontenelle, nephew of the

[1] "Generosissimæ nobilitas parentelæ et illius prædicabilis strenuitas de domo illum parentum regiam transire coegit in aulam."—*Vita S. Aredii, abb. Lemovic., in Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. i. p. 331. St. Yrieix died in 591.

[2] See the admirable pages in which M. de Montalembert has narrated the conversion of nobles of the Merovingian epoch—Rutbert hanging up his arms under the vaulted roof of Luxeuil, Romaric surrounded by the slaves he had enfranchised, &c. We shall publish elsewhere some remarkable pages of the author on the nobles of the same period.—[*Note by the Editor in the French edition.*]

[3] "Nobilissimi generis prosapia ortus . . . in aula regis juvenculi Hlotarii filii Hlodovei sub sæculari prius habitu militavit. . . . Anno regis octavo . . . gladiis e ferro formatis exutus, ad fulgida Christi castra devotissime convolavit et indutus galea salutis, lorica fidei ac gladio spiritus, contra invisibilem hostem feliciter dimicavit. . . . Erat ditissimis atque honorabilibus parentibus . . . atque in domo regia in maximo fulgens honore . . . statura quoque procerus adspectuque decorus . . ."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iv. p. 319, ed. Venet. The bracelets he offered were set with precious stones, and, according to the contemporary narrative, were worth 70 sols. Landpert was elected Abbot of Fontenelle in 665, and afterwards became Bishop of Lyons.

grand referendary [1] of Clotaire I., and favourite of Clotaire, Childeric, and Theoderic. At the same period the successor of St. Colombanus at Luxeuil, Walbert, a rich and valiant noble of Ponthieu, went to lay upon the altar of that abbey the arms in which he had won a spotless renown in battle, and which were preserved there for centuries afterwards as the noblest monument of victory which man could obtain.[2] Others renounced at once their fortune and their liberty at the very moment when a brilliant marriage was about to crown their earthly existence. Vandrégisile, Count of the palace of Dagobert; Austregisile, who held an office near the person of King Gontran,[3] and was afterwards Archbishop of Bourges; Herblain, a Picard noble, and grand cup-bearer to Clotaire III.;[4] Menélé, a young Angevin lord,[5] founder of Menat, in Auvergne; and many others, gave, by such sacrifices, the first pledge of future holiness.

The highest dignities, the most brilliant positions, seemed to these men of no value compared with the sweet humility of the cloister. Auvergne still keeps in remembrance the two powerful seigneurs who contributed to introduce the order of St. Benedict among its mountains: first, Calmine, count of that province, and of a part of Aquitaine, renowned in history for his numerous train of young patricians, for his

[1] "Summus palatii referendarius."

[2] "Cujus annos adolescentiæ in armis tradunt excellentissime floruisse . . . inclyta prosapia clarissimus . . . hominibus et rerum dignitate juxta natales suos ditissimus . . . miles optimus inter fasces constitutus et arma . . . armisque depositis quæ usque hodie" (at the time of Adson, about 950) "in testimonium sacræ militiæ ejus in eo loco habentur."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iv. p. 411. There may still be seen at some distance from Luxeuil the hermitage where St. Walbert passed the first years of his conversion. He died in 665.

[3] *Mapparius.—Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ii. p. 88.

[4] "Ex Noviomagensium incolarum nobilissimis parentibus processit. . . . Parentes ejus regi Francorum magno cum honore militaturum commendaverunt. . . . Militarem habitum suscepit. . . . Principem pincernarum."—*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 306.

[5] "Clarus ortus natalibus antiquam nobilitatis lineam reddidit fulgore meritorum splendidam."—*Ibid.*, vol. iii. p. 385.

immense riches, and his vast domains, crowded with towns and castles;[1] and, secondly, Bonnet, descended from a Roman race, who, after having been cup-bearer and referendary to the King Sigebert,[2] became governor of Marseilles and Bishop of Clermont: both renounced all their greatness to embrace the monastic life.

The Vosges mountains owe one of their principal glories to the high-born Romaric, a wealthy and distinguished feudatory of Theodebert II. and Clotaire II.[3] While still a layman, this seigneur practised every kind of virtue, until God willed, to quote the contemporary chronicler, that His knight should be recompensed for the valour he had displayed in the battles of his time, and be led into the fields of celestial light.[4] Amat, a monk of Luxeuil, himself of noble Roman origin,[5] having come to preach in Austrasia, Romaric invited him to his table, and during the meal questioned him as to the best way of securing his salvation. "Look," replied the monk, "at this silver dish; how many masters has it had already? or rather, how many slaves? and how many more will it have?[6] And thou thyself, willing or unwilling,

[1] "Apud Arvernam urbem floret et præest vir christianissimus dux inclytus Calmilius nomine, cujus suberat ditioni Aquitaniæ pars non minima, nobiliumque innumerosa tironum clientela, oppida, rura, castella, cæterarumque rerum copiosa affluentia, cum etiam suffultus dogmate litterali nullo carebat negotio mercuriali."—*Vit. S. Theofr. Calmel. abbat.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iii. p. 450.

[2] "E senatu dumtaxat romano, nobili prosapia. . . . Annulo ex manu regis accepto, referendarii officium adeptus."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iii. p. 79. He was a monk at Manlieu, and died in 709.

[3] "Nobilis in palatio . . . clarissimis parentibus procreatus . . . in Lotharii regis palatio cum ceteris electus."—*Vit. S. Romarici, auct. monacho subpari*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ii. p. 399. "Qui primus inter nobiles fuerat apud Theodebertum habitus."—*Vit. S. Eustasii, auct. coævo; ibid.*, p. 112.

[4] "Ineffabilis Deus videns militem suum sub tenebrosis hujus sæculi bellis fortiter belligerantem, voluit illum ad lucidos producere campos."—*Ibid.*, p. 399.

[5] "Nobilibus natus parentibus ex romana oriundus stirpe, in suburbio Gratianopolitanæ civitatis."—*Ibid.*, p. 121.

[6] "Cumque jam mensa posita esset, cœpit inter epulas flagitare. . . . Cernis hunc discum argenteum; quantos iste dudum servos habuit,

thou art its slave, since thou possessest it only to preserve it. But an account will be demanded from thee of it, for it is written, *Your gold and your silver is cankered, and the rust of them shall be a witness against you.*[1] I am surprised that a man such as thou art, of high birth, rich, and intelligent,[2] should not remember the answer of our Lord to him who asked how he should gain eternal life: *If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell all that thou hast, and give to the poor, and follow Me, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven.*"[3] From this moment Romaric was conquered by the love of God and the desire of heaven. He distributed to the poor all his possessions except one great estate, gave freedom to a crowd of serfs of both sexes, and presented himself at Luxeuil to take the vows of a monk. When he went to the abbot to have his hair cut off, according to the ritual of admission into the Order, several of his servants who were still in attendance, and to whom he had given their liberty, offered their heads also to the monastic scissors. Romaric was glad to acknowledge these former servants not only as brothers, but also sometimes as superiors; for in the monastery he sought the lowest occupations, and surpassed all the monks in his assiduity in gardening, learning the Psalter by heart while he worked.[4]

Towards the end of his life Romaric founded upon the sole estate which he had reserved a nunnery, the government of

quantosque deinceps habiturus est. Et tu velis, nolis, nunc servus suus es. . . ."—*Vit. S. Eustasii, auct. coævo*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ii. p. 123.

[1] "Aurum et argentum vestrum æruginavit, et ærugo eorum in testimonium vobis erit," James, v. 3.—*Ibid.*

[2] "Ausculta paululum, vir bone: cum sis nobilitate parentum excelsus, divitiis inclytus, ingenioque sagax, miror si non nosti," &c.—*Ibid.*

[3] S. Matt. xix. 21. This story has already been published, but we do not feel justified in suppressing it here. See the explanations given on this subject in the Preface.—[*Note by French editor.*]

[4] "Illos denique servulos quos dudum ministros habuerat, socios sibi detondens plerosque adjunxit; et effectus est illorum subditus, quorum prius dominus præpotens fuerat. . . . Ut quidquid despicabile in monasterio agendum esset, ipse adsumeret."—*Vit. S. Romarici, auct. monacho subpari*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ii. p. 400.

which he confided to Amat, the holy monk who had converted him: he himself became its second abbot, and this house was called after him, Remiremont.[1] It afterwards became one of the most famous of the noble chapters of Europe, and around it grew up the present town of Remiremont.

If we did not fear to extend our researches too much beyond the limits of Merovingian France, we could find analogous examples in all Christian countries. For example, we hear of three young nobles of Beneventum, who having started from their native town with their usual stately train,[2] suddenly sent back their equipages, changed their rich dresses for the rags of three beggars whom they met on the way, and pursued their journey to Rome on foot. Thence, after having renewed their courage at the tombs of the holy apostles, they travelled to Farfa, and there took the monastic vows, becoming in later times the founders and three first abbots of St. Vincent on the Volturna.[3]

Among the Anglo-Saxons, where the kings themselves became monks, the nobles who had shared the sovereign authority with them disputed with them also the honour of peopling the cloisters. Examples of this abound: first of all, as we have already said, we find Owim, one of the greatest lords of East Anglia, abandoning his offices, his pro-

[1] *Romarici-Mons.* The domain was called *Habend*, and the Abbey of Remiremont bears, in its earliest monuments, the name of *monasterium abendense*. This foundation took place toward 620, and Romaric died in 653.

[2] "Tres ex nobili genere orti, jure consanguinitatis propinqui, Paldo, Taso et Tato. . . . Sicuti nobiles decet, oneratis animalibus stipendiis, præparatis ad sedendum equis, famulorum fulti obsequiis, gressus ad ambulandum movent."—S. AUTPERTI, *Vit. S. Paldonis*, &c., in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iii. p. 403. "Cum essent divites et potentes."—LEO MARSIC., *Chron. Casin.*, vol. i. p. 4.

[3] St. Vincent on the Volturna is twelve miles from Monte Cassino, and was founded in 703. A little later, Walfroi, a patrician of Pisa, father of five children, quitted the world with his wife's consent, and became abbot of Palazzuolo, in Tuscany. "Sæcularis et Magnus in vita . . . mutuo inter se sua cum conjuge quærere cœperunt, ut istud triste desererent sæculum."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iv. p. 178, ad ann. 765.

perty, and his friends, and presenting himself at a monastery with a woodman's axe in his hand, to show that he meant to work as a common labourer.[1] Then comes the rich and illustrious Benedict Biscop, founder of Wearmouth, and his cousin, Esterwin, who associated with the humblest monks, and took delight in the rudest employments—thrashing barley, milking the sheep and cows, cooking in the kitchen, forging iron, gardening, driving the plough—in one word, giving himself up to the hardest of farm labour.[2]

During the whole of the Carlovingian epoch the same spirit reigned among the nobles who composed the armies of Pepin, of Charlemagne, and of the princes of their race. It is well known that Carloman, brother of Pepin, set the example of giving up greatness and wealth by becoming a monk at Monte Cassino, where he did not wish to be recognised. History proves that this spirit of humility found imitators among the most illustrious seigneurs of the court of Charlemagne, such as William *Court-Nez*, St. Benedict of Anagni, St. Bernard, Angilbert, and Ogier the Dane. Many other splendid names might be quoted. Thus the rich and noble Count Rodin, born in the Ardennes, father of St. Amalberge the abbess, who was equally distinguished by his courage in war and his zeal for the good administration of public affairs, abandoned the high position he held at the court of Carloman, King of Austrasia, the brother of Charlemagne, to go to Mount Soracte, and

[1] "Monachus magni meriti . . . primus ministrorum domus ejus. . . . Relictis omnibus quæ habebat, simplici tantum habitu indutus et securim atque asciam in manu ferens, veniret, atque ad laborem se monasterium antrare signabat. . . . Quominus sufficiebat meditationi scripturarum, eo implius operi manuum studium impendebat."—BED., *Hist. Eccles.*, iv. 3.

[2] "Minister Ecfridi regis, relictis semel negotiis sæcularibus, depositis armis . . . mansit humilis fratrumque simillimus aliorum ut ventilare cum eis et triturare, oves vitulosque mulgere, in pistrino, in horto, in coquina. . . . Ubi operantes fratres invenit, solebat eis in opere conjungi; vel aratri gressum stiva regendo, vel ferrum malleo domando . . . erat enim viribus fortis . . . animo hilaris, honestus aspectu," &c.—BED., *Vit. B. B. abbat.*, p. 372, ed. Giles.

there take the monastic habit, after having divided his inheritance into two parts—one for churches and monasteries, and one for the poor.[1] Thus, Count Unroc, who in 811 had negotiated the peace between Charlemagne and Hemming the Danish chief, embraced a religious life at the Abbey of St. Bertin.[2] Thus, under the Emperor Lothaire I., an Italian count, Rotgar, became a monk at St. Faron-lez-Meaux, to fulfil a vow made one day when, in a combat between the Franks and Bulgarians, he was thrown from his horse and in danger of falling beneath the swords of the enemy.[3] Thus, under Charles the Bald, Count Badilon, one of the richest seigneurs of Aquitaine, not content with having consecrated a great part of his patrimony to restoring the monastery of St. Martin of Autun, decided to enter there himself that he might wash away the stains of his soul; and when there, he was not slow in becoming what the writers of the feudal period call *Christ's perfect knight*.[4] Thus, finally, Count Rasto or Rathier, son of the Count of Diessen, after having brilliantly led the Bavarian armies

[1] "Cum administrationem rerum publicarum inter primos ut nobilissimus gereret . . . sub obtentu militiæ . . . inclytus Christi miles Rodinus . . . patrimonia sua quibus in regno Francorum clarissimus ac ditissimus, utpote regum sanguis, pollebat, sacris locis . . . partim contradidit, partim pro commutandis pauperum refrigeriis distribuit."—*Vit. S. Amalbergæ*, c. 6 and 24, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iv. p. 220.

[2] JOANN. IMPERIUS, c. 13, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iv. p. 221, ad ann. 772.

[3] "Italica regio cum plurimos comites ex primoribus Magnatorum juxta regalem potestatem . . . olim possedisset, specialius unum novimus. . . . De equo fidenti circumseptione resistentium corruere compulit . . . cumque telis aculeatis loricam reluctantem," &c.—HILDEGARII, *de Reb. gest. S. Faron.*, c. 119, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. v. p. 627.

[4] "Comes quidam, Badilo nomine, veniens ex Aquitaniæ partibus; vir licet in seculari vita positus, correctis tamen et religiosis moribus et conversatione sacris viris post omnia consimilis. Exstiterat enim opum gratia opulentissimus. Cœpit postmodum de propria salute acrius sollicitus esse, qualiter sæculi hujus ambitiones et illecebras postponeret, semetque in monasterio tonsorare et monachum fore disposuit . . . quem etiam Vener. Hugo . . . perfectissimum Christi militem reddidit."—*Vit. S. Hug. Æduens.*, c. 7 et 10, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii., ad ann. 930.

against the Hungarians, founded the Abbey of Graffrath, where he died in the Benedictine habit in 954.

In the tenth century,—that ill-understood epoch when all the great European peoples laid the foundations of their national existence—when there was first rooted in France, Germany, England, and Spain that social organisation which was to endure till the new birth of paganism,—we see the feudal nobility, which, after the Church, was the soul of this puissant organisation, furnishing the same examples of self-abnegation and penitence as in later times. No doubt there were few sacrifices so striking as that of a certain Turketill, Chancellor of England, who forsook the government of a vast kingdom to become a monk among the ruins of Croyland;[1] but in all Christian kingdoms we meet with admirable monks who left the ranks of the highest nobility to draw near to God in solitude, and to devote themselves without reserve to the general restoration of the monastic order, which had suffered so cruelly from the attacks of Saracens, Danes, Normans, and Hungarians.

At the period of which we are speaking, Belgium seems to have been specially fruitful in men of lofty character. There flourished Gilbert de Gembloux, one of the noblest knights of Brabant, who, after having shared in all the wars of his time, built, on the site of his paternal castle, the great monastery of Gembloux.[2] This he endowed with all his property, and directly afterwards assumed the monk's frock at Gorze, where, as his biographer expresses it, the veteran knight became the recruit of Christ, and the old serf of this world, purchased by divine liberty, became the freedman of God.[3]

[1] We shall return elsewhere to this subject.

[2] The Abbot Count of Gembloux or Gemblours occupied, till the Revolution, the first place in the Estates of Brabant.

[3] "Cujus avum et aviam fatentur longam antiquæ nobilitatis traxisse lineam. . . . Postquam diu sub chlamyde militaris habitus latuit. . . . Mundi veteranus, terrenæ militiæ rude donatus, cœpit esse novus Christi tirunculus, et longævus mundi servus, per vindictam divinæ libertatis

From Belgium, also, came Gerard de Brogne.[1] This noble knight was descended from a Duke of Austrasia,[2] and had passed the first years of his career in the service of the Count of Namur, who highly valued his valour and prudence.[3] At that time it was remarked that, at great hunting parties, while the count and other hunters halted for dinner, Gerard often retired to a little church on his estate at Brogne.[4] Being sent as ambassador to Count Robert of Paris, the knight stopped at St. Denis, where the sweet and solemn harmony of the monks' singing completed his conversion.[5] He earnestly begged from them[6] a relic of St. Eugene of Toledo, whose body was then possessed by the abbey; and having become a monk to obtain it, he carried it in triumph to the little church where, during his lord's hunting parties, he had so often come to pray. There, shortly after, he erected a monastery, which soon became a centre of attraction for the noblest souls, and, according to the language of the times, resembled a fruitful hive,[7] whence issued swarms of pure and zealous monks, who went, directed by their founder, to reform and repeople eighteen other monasteries in Flanders and in Germany.

factus suus, effectus est Deo libertus."—*Vit. S. Guib., fund. Gembl.*, c. 3, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii., ann. 962.

[1] He became a monk in 918, and died in 959.

[2] "Claris quidem natalibus enituit . . . ex prosapia Haganonis Austrasiorum ducis prosatus."—C. 2.

[3] "Quia (quod perrarum est) et militia valebat, et consulto prudentiori pollebat."—C. 3.

[4] "Post gratum ergo venationis laborem, et sol jam in antro poli poscebat prandii panem, comes et sui quærentes refectionem regredi maluerant. . . . Ipse Dei amicus . . . antiquam petit ecclesiam Bronii impransus."

[5] "Contigit ut ipsa eadem hora vespertinam synaxim monachorum decantaret caterva: quorum dulcisonis modulationibus cum vir ecclesiasticus auscultaret attentius."—C. 5.

[6] "O, inquit, patres amantissimi Deoque devotissimi, si vestræ complaceret dulcissimæ dilectioni, ut reliquias hujus sancti conferretis meæ tantillitati."—C. 6.

[7] "Videres quasi ex diversis alvearibus apes ad hanc florigeram arborem convolare, ut inde favis arentibus nectar melliflui roris possent instillare."—*Vit. S. Gerard.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii., ad ann. 959.

In Belgium, also, flourished Count Ansfred of Louvain or Brabant, the heir of fifteen countships, and renowned from his youth for his courage and intelligence. After having gone to Rome in attendance upon Otho the Great, who charged the count to watch over him, sword in hand, while he prayed at the threshold of the apostles,[1] Ansfred under the two other Othos took a considerable part in the government of the empire,[2] in all the wars of his time, and, above all, in the repression of brigandage, which then desolated Brabant. He used his great wealth to found, in concert with his wife, the famous abbey of Thorn,[3] in the diocese of Liège. Having become a widower, he was about to enter a monastery, when the Emperor Otho III. gave him the bishopric of Utrecht. There, unbuckling his sword, the pious soldier laid it on the altar of Notre-Dame, at Aix-la-Chapelle, saying: "Till now I have employed my honour and my temporal power against the enemies of Christ's poor; henceforward I confide to my blessed patroness, the Virgin Mary, the guardianship and the salvation of my soul."[4]

Having, however, reached the decline of life, and having lost his sight, Ansfred fulfilled his first vow, and became a monk in the monastery of Heiligenburg. There, he fed each day with his own hands seventy-two poor men, and, moreover, bathed the lepers and tended the wounded who were found among his poor. He who had been bishop and lord of the country, submitted readily to receive the disci-

[1] "Dum ego hodie ad limina apostolorum perorabo, tu gladium continue super caput meum teneto; nam fidem Romanam antecessoribus meis semper suspectam fuisse non ignoro."—*Chron. Magd.*, ann. 955, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii. p. 78.

[2] *Anon. Monachi S. Paul. Traject. Vit. S. Ansfredi; ibid.*

[3] This abbey was changed later, like Remiremont, Maubeuge, &c., into a chapter of noble ladies, where the probation was very difficult.

[4] "Accepto gladio quo erat cinctus. . . . Hactenus hunc terrenum honorem obtinui, et hostes pauperum Christi et viduarum expuli: nunc deinceps huic dominæ meæ S. Mariæ, qua virtute honorem et salutem animæ meæ obtineam, commendo."—ANONYMUS, *Vit. S. Ansfred., loc. cit.*, p. 81, ed. Ven.

pline administered by the superior of the abbey which he had himself founded and endowed.[1] On his deathbed God gave him back his sight, and he then said to those who surrounded him, "*Round about the Lord is the only light which shall never be darkened.*"[2] These were his last words. When they carried his body from Thorn to Utrecht, a delightful perfume shed itself along the way; it issued from the bier of this hero of his time, this servant of Christ, whose life had exhaled the inestimable sweetness of humility and charity.[3]

The attraction which drew all these representatives of the feudal nobility to renounce their rank and their fortune, and to enrol themselves in the army of St. Benedict, was never more powerful than in the eleventh century, and during the time when Hildebrand, supported at once by the monastic orders and by a considerable portion of the nobles, undertook to purify and enfranchise the Church.

When we would distinguish among the holy monks of this period some who unite the fame of a brilliant and chivalrous life in the world with that of a generous and exemplary penitence in the cloister, we at once turn to St. Robert, founder of the abbey and congregation of Chaise-Dieu, in Auvergne. This Robert was a worthy descendant of the noble Count Gerald, already spoken of. He also was the son of a Count of Aurillac, his mother being daughter of the Count of Rodez. When his mother presented him, directly after his birth, to the knight his father, the latter kissed him with the liveliest joy, and, delighted to have a son, placed a great sword in his hand, as if to show to the

[1] ANONYM., *loc. cit.*, p. 83.

[2] "Appropinquante carnis ejus dissolutione, vidit crucem in fenestra, quæ ibi post caligationem oculorum ejus facta fuit. . . . In circuitu tuo, Domine, lumen est, quod nunquam deficiet."—*Chron. Magdeb.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 84.

[3] "Post translationem corporis sacri, fragrantia miri odoris per viam ultra tria milliaria veracium hominum, sicut ipsi testati sunt, nares perfudit et pectora."—*Ibid.*

new-born child the noble trade which, having been that of his ancestors, should one day be his; but the infant pushed away the fatal weapon with his little hand, and it fell to the ground and was broken,[1] thus presaging his love of a peaceful life.

Having arrived at a proper age, he went to Monte Cassino to study the best monastic traditions: and on his return to Auvergne, took as companions two old knights of his father's, and established himself in a forest between Auvergne and Velay, which was so extensive that it would have taken a strong horse four days to traverse it at a gallop.[2] The three recluses cleared a large portion of this forest, and there founded the famous abbey of Chaise-Dieu, which for a time seemed likely to rival Cluny, and which counted among its dependencies 293 priories in different provinces of France, Spain, and Italy. Robert died there in 1067, after having, in the course of twenty years, governed 300 monks, restored 50 churches, and civilised, by his patience and his virtues, the still barbarous population of these mountains.[3] Even now, it is not without emotion that the traveller visits the site where monastic genius raised an immense church and caused a town to spring up. In the midst of pine woods, opened up by successive clearings and poor attempts at culture, the mind loves to contemplate such a figure as that of Robert, the son of heroes, standing on the desolate plateau, 300 feet above the level of the sea, and casting his eyes westward towards Cantal, then north and east towards the mountains of Forez, bristling with dark forests, where horror and silence reigned. Great stones, which must have been erected by the hand of man, alone attested the presence of human inhabitants in this savage region, where, however,

[1] BRANCHE, *l'Auvergne au moyen âge*, vol. i. p. 98.

[2] DOM GENOUX, *Hist. Casæ Dei.*, *Bibl. roy. MSS. F. S. Q. Lat.* 5552, quoted by BRANCHE, p. 103.

[3] "Incolarum mitigabat pristinam feritatem, paulatimque eos brutis moribus exuens, tanquam de feris homines faciebat."—MARBOD., *Vit. S. Roberti*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 200.

there existed a few half-pagan peasants who waged a bitter war against the three knights. Nevertheless, in spite of all difficulties, in spite of the persecutions they sustained from the mountaineers, Robert and his two faithful friends persevered in their design. At night, from the recesses of the wood, voices shouted to him, "Robert, Robert, why dost thou, a stranger, try to chase us from our dwellings?"[1] But Robert would not allow himself to be alarmed by these cries, which he attributed to the demon. Armed with axe and spade, he opened paths through the wood and began to till the ground. It was then, according to the hagiographer, that the rule of St. Benedict was brought to him by an angel, who immediately disappeared in the form of a white dove.[2]

The nobles of Auvergne, among whom Count William and the barons of Mercœur and Livradois showed themselves the most generous, offered to Robert many rich donations: they did more, for they furnished him with numerous disciples.[3] One of those whom Robert loved the best, Raoul de St. Sauvin, was a troubadour and *jongleur* (as poets were then called), but was also a very rich knight, who gave four estates to Chaise-Dieu when he became a monk there.[4] Another of Robert's followers was the noble Adelelme, of Loudun, in Poitou, a member of a very distinguished race.[5] To please his family, though he secretly aspired to a spiritual life, he wore the baldrick of a knight for several years.[6] But one day, yielding to one of those

[1] "Roberte, Roberte, quare e nostris sedibus, advena, nos tentas extradere?"—DOM GENOUX, *loc. sup. cit.*, p. 23.

[2] LABBE, *Biblioth. nov. man.*, vol. ii. p. 637.

[3] "Non parva multitudo clericorum et militiæ cingulum deponentium." —*Liber tripartitus B. Roberti*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 214.

[4] BRANCHE, *l'Auvergne au moyen âge*, p. 141. Cf. MABILLON, *Annal. Bened.*, vol. v. p. 9.

[5] "Ingenuitate conspicuus . . . parentes ejus, cum secundum sæculi pomposam gloriam illustres fuissent."—RODULPH., *Vit. S. Adelelmi, auct. monach. coæquali*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 866.

[6] "Hic utrumque tenuit, Ecclesiæ videlicet spiritum, et militiæ quoque

invincible impulses then so common, Adelelme distributed all his property to the poor, and, lest he should be detained by his friends, started at night attended by a single squire. A little later, sending back this troublesome companion, after having forced him to exchange clothes with him, he travelled on to Rome barefoot, and then made several other pilgrimages.[1] Having passed two years in these travels, worn out by fatigue and fasting,[2] he settled at Chaise-Dieu, where he took the vows, says his contemporary biographer, with the deepest humility.[3] He was so much changed that no one could recognise him. He told the secret of his birth to none but to the Abbot Robert, who, finding in him all the qualities of a true monk, made him master of the novices. Adelelme became the third abbot of Chaise-Dieu; but he was soon summoned to Spain, where later we shall see him at the same time preaching the strict observance of the Benedictine rule, and marching at the head of the Castilian armies in the war with the infidels.

After the death of St. Robert, there arose in the centre of France a congregation—founded, like that of Chaise-Dieu, by converted nobles—which also had ramifications in Spain. When, in 1079, a second St. Gerard, of Picard descent, a monk and saint like Gerard de Brogne, went to Guienne and founded the congregation of La Grande-Sauve,[4]

sæcularis habitum . . . cum jam per litterarum cucurrisset exordia, balteum militare, suadentibus cognatis ipso vero reluctante, præcinxit, cujus exercitamentis nonnullos sago miles, corde monachus transegit annos."—RODULPH., *Vit. S. Adelelmi*, p. 867.

[1] "Intempesta nocte, cum armigero quodam suo . . . clam discessit. . . . Permutatis cum comite vestibus pretiosis, pedulo viliore . . . nudis pedibus iter arripiens," &c.—*Ibid.*

[2] "Alias orbis partes, nudis pedibus, corporis maceratione languidus, jejuniis continuis . . . exilis, peregrinus et incognitus invisit."—*Ibid.*

[3] "Invicta animi demissione, induit cucullum."

[4] St. Gerard, founder of the abbey and congregation of the Grande-Sauve, born in Picardy in 1015, was first a monk at Corbie, where he wrote the life of St. Adalard, and then a pilgrim at Rome, under Leo IX., who ordained him a priest in 1050. Having been cured of a long and severe illness by the intercession of St. Adalard, he undertook a second

he had as sharers in his pious enterprise several Picard knights, equally famous for their birth and for their courage,[1] of whom the principal were Ebroin, who had quitted the profession of arms to serve God till death in the cell of a recluse,[2] and Herloy, brother of the *châtelain* of Noyon, extremely rich, who, even in the world, had always known how to be the master, and not the slave, of fortune.[3] In his youth Herloy had given himself up to study; but the duties of his rank, and the example of his equals, had forced him into a soldier's life, which he regarded as most suitable to a noble. He made himself a famous name in the service of King Philip of France, and he had for a long time lived in camps, when, touched by grace, and rebaptized by the tears of penitence, he renounced his great possessions to become the disciple of Abbot Gerard.[4] Three knights of the Laonnais—Guy, Gauthier, and Lithier, all renowned for their warlike exploits[5]—came to join the new foundation.

pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1073. On his return he was named abbot of the monastery of St. Vincent, at Laon, which he tried in vain to reform, then abbot of St. Medard, at Soissons, whence he was driven by Queen Bertha. Protected by the legate Amat, and by William VIII. of Aquitaine, he undertook to found the abbey of Grande-Sauve, near Rions, between the Gironde and Dordogne. He governed it till his death, in 1095, and was canonised by Celestine III. in 1197. In 1844 an interesting work was published on this house and its founder, called *Histoire de l'abbaye et congrégation de N. D. de la Grande-Sauve, ordre de S. Benoît, en Guienne*, by the Abbé Cirot de la Ville: Bordeaux, 1844.

[1] "Milites secundum sæculum non ignobiles."—*Vit. S. Geraldi, Sylvæ Majoris abb., auct. monach. coæquali*, c. 18, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 857.

[2] "De militari habitu egrediens, Dei amore inclusus, usque ad mortem fortiter pugnavit."—*Ibid.*, c. 22.

[3] "Divitiis nimirum abundavit, et eas liberaliter, non ut earum servus, sed ut dominus tractavit."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Armorum probitate strenuus . . . dignitate ad plenum munitus . . . ex regiis militibus non infimus . . . dimisso litterarum studio, militiæ hæsit, nimirum quia nobilis et nobili genere ortus, animum suum non poterat ab hujus modi exercitiis refrenare, præsertim cum videret æquævos suos talibus negotiis inclinari. Iterum undis lacrymarum et confessione pura baptizatus."—*Ibid.*

[5] "Wido . . . divitiis refertus et nobilitate sæculi satis decoratus. . . . Walterus . . . vir militaris et probus. . . . Litherius . . . in armis satis

The youngest and most remarkable of those who arrived later was Tecelin de Coucy, who, according to the contemporary annalist, had never been vanquished in the many combats in which his love of glory had involved him.[1]

All these brave men renounced their families, their fortunes, their career, their country, and the allurement of military life;[2] and having gone on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostello in their knightly armour,[3] returned to take the Benedictine habit at La Grande-Sauve, and to put themselves at the disposal of the Abbot Gerard, who employed them in clearing the immense forest which surrounded the monastery.[4] There the heroes employed their strength in rooting out brambles and cutting down trees,[5] thus literally accomplishing the prophet's words: "They shall turn their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks."[6]

The example of these knights of the north of France induced many Gascon seigneurs first to become defenders of the abbey where their children were educated;[7] secondly,

valens . . . inter cæteros milites probitate inferior esse despiciens, semper ad majora militiæ exercitia se erigens."—*Vit. S. Geraldi*, c. 23.

[1] "Nunquam arma sua alteri deseruit, nec timore militis ullius unquam mutavit; sed semper ubicumque esset, victoriam et palmam acquirere super omnes socios elaboravit."—*Ibid.* He was married to Adelaide, Viscountess de Coucy, and had three sons.—CIROT, *loc. cit.*, p. 219. When her husband devoted himself to God, Adelaide became a nun at Nogent—a famous abbey situated at the foot of the hill of Coucy, and which (except its church) still exists as a country-house.

[2] "Hi omnes digito divinæ misericordiæ compuncti, renuntiantes omnibus quæ possidebant, et de terris et de cognationibus egressi, Christum secuti sunt."—*Vit. S. Geraldi.*

[3] "Laicali habitu induti."—C. 21.

[4] It took from this forest its name, *Sylva Major.*

[5] "Sylva in circuitu tam densa vepribus et sentibus creverat, quod nullus ad ecclesiam appropinquare poterat, nisi gladio aut alio aliquo ferramento prius ita fecisset. . . . Sordebant induti vestibus vilissimis . . . fiunt nemorum et sylvarum fortissimi extirpatores, qui prius fuerant strenuissimi bellatores."—*Ibid.*, c. 20, 23.

[6] "Conflabunt gladios suos in vomeres, et lanceas suas in falces."—Isaiah, ii. 4.

[7] CIROT, i. 292; ii. 97 *et passim.*

to provide, by liberal donations, for all its necessities;[1] and, finally, to become monks there themselves. Arnold, of Castillon in Médoc, thus relates his own conversion, in the deed by which he gives all his possessions to La Sauve: "*Work while it is day, lest the darkness overtake you; for I desire not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live.*[2] I, then, Arnold, knight, having learned to understand these words of the Lord, immediately, with my heart full of repentance, began to reflect upon my doings, and to tremble at the terrible punishment my sins deserved. For this reason I have taken refuge with you, Dom Gerard, most reverend abbot, in this great forest where you have laid the foundation of a church, and, renouncing my secular knighthood in presence of all your brethren, I give myself and all my possessions to St. Mary and to you."[3] This pious donor was followed by Raymond de Genissac, who occupied a distinguished rank among the nobility of the country;[4] by old Raymond of Mangaude, who had long been weary of the glory of the world, and who presented himself at the eleventh hour[5] to gain the promised reward; and by the young Gaucelme of Montfaucon, who learned to hold glory light without having ever made an ill use of it.[6]

[1] "Quanquam nil ibi inveniretur in densissima sylva, tamen omnibus quæ sunt homini necessaria adeo nos ditavit clementia ut jam multi possint tunc habere suffragia."—*Chartul. min. Syl. maj.*, fol. 14, ap. CIROT, i. 275.

[2] John xii. 35; Ezek. xxxiii. 11.

[3] "Hanc igitur dominicam vocem cum ego Arnaldus miles audirem, compunctus corde. . . . Ad vos igitur, domine Geralde, reverendissime abbas, atque in sylvam majorem ubi incœpta est ecclesia, confugio, renuntiansque sæculari militiæ, me meamque possessionem S. Mariæ vobisque coram cunctis fratribus trado."—*Chartul. min.*, fol. 78, ap. CIROT, i. 288.

[4] CIROT, i. 289.

[5] "Quidam vir nobilis nomine Raymundus Mangaudi, satis diu usus sæculari gloria, tandem jam ætate decrepita deficiens, mundanæ militiæ renuntiavit, . . . non dubitans quod qui vineam Christi etiam hora undecima ingreditur, plena denarii mercede muneratur. Hic igitur venit ad conversionem in monasterium Silvæ Majoris."—*Chartul. min.*, fol. 49, CIROT.

[6] "Quidam miles Gaucelmus in Montefalcone parvulus cunctis spretis sæculi vanitatibus, sumpta cruce, est Christum secutus. Hic itaque in monasterium Silv. Maj. ad conversionem venit."—*Chartul. min.*, fol. 77, 84.

Benedict de Civrac, in his turn, came to offer to La Sauve, himself and the portion of the family inheritance to which he was entitled; but one of his brothers, who wished to remain in the world, opposed the gift, reclaiming the patrimony Benedict had given to God. The opposer, however, being conquered in his turn, soon submitted, accepted with goodwill what had been done, and for the rest of his days served God as a simple convert in the abbey where his brother was priest and monk.[1] The Lignans, the Tragomains, the Rions,[2] and many other lords of the neighbourhood, came, one by one, to people the new monastery. Filled with respect for and sympathy with the devotion of the monks, the pious Duke William of Aquitaine, with the consent of his barons, at the Council of Bordeaux in 1080, added to the spiritual exemption pronounced by the legates of Gregory VII. the right of *sauvetat*—that is to say, he entirely freed the abbey and the surrounding territory, with the persons who chose to inhabit it, from all temporal jurisdiction and all taxes. The monks further obtained the right of asylum, of justice, and of safe-conduct in favour of pilgrims and of travellers accompanied by a monk.[3]

The renown of the new foundation spread even to the King of France, Philip I., who gave to it in 1083 the church of St. Leger au Bois, so as to obtain the benefit of the prayers of those noble personages who were clearing and sanctifying the great forest.[4] Thanks to such powerful protection, and to the inexhaustible munificence of the feudal nobles, the abbey of La Grande-Sauve soon counted

[1] "Laicus in sæculo remanens, quod frater dederat, rapuit. . . . Postea coactus, se ad serviendum in laico habitu eidem monasterio tradidit."—*Chartul. min.*, fol. 32.

[2] In the next century we find there the seigneurs of St. Exupery, Cabanac, Aubeterre, La Ferrère, Villars, &c.—CIROT, vol. ii. *passim*.

[3] See the text of this act, ap. CIROT, vol. i. pp. 282, 494.

[4] "Audita fama nobilium virorum qui in sylva majori nuper inceperunt monasterium, cogitabam quomodo me possem commendare orationibus eorum."—*Chartul. min.*, fol. 143.

among its dependencies seventy monasteries and priories in France, Spain, and England.[1]

The curious picture of the abbey of Hirschau in the Black Forest, traced by Trithemius, successively its historian and abbot, refers specially to this interesting and little-known period. "There was then," he says, "in our abbey a crowd of persons of consideration, who shone in the monastic order like stars in the firmament. Many of them, before they entered religion, had borne great names and attained high dignities in the world. Side by side with these monks, sprung from the most illustrious blood, were others of humble race—poor men and peasants. But, as a true brotherly love united them, so a life of the same kind was imposed on all: the noble had, in fact, no superiority over the serf; the purest blood gave no right to hold office in the house. Good works and the practice of humility were the only titles recognised there. And, nevertheless, there were numbers of monks versed in all kinds of knowledge, and not less remarkable for their profound acquaintance with Holy Scripture than for the excellence of their lives. Thanks to these monks, the name of Hirschau became famous throughout Europe: some of them, sons of dukes, counts, and powerful lords, had been celebrated in the world; others, canons or prelates of cathedral or collegiate churches, were extolled for their sccince or for the importance of their families,—but all had trodden under foot the greatness of this world, to become monks for the love of God; all practised the humility of Christ's poor, with as much happiness as if they had been the most ignorant of men, and descended from a race of beggars."[2]

[1] The precious ruins of this great and powerful abbey have been snatched from complete destruction by the enlightened and generous solicitude of Mgr. Donnet, present Archbishop of Bordeaux.

[2] "Erant si quidem in hoc ipso monasterio temporibus Gebhardi abbatis et numero, et merito, viri præstantes, et magni, qui ordinem monasticum sicut cœlum astra decorantia illustrabant. Ex his nonnulli ante introitum religionis magni et nominis, et amplæ dignitatis in sæculo

In short, wherever we look throughout Europe in the eleventh century, from the time of the elevation of Hildebrand to the government of the Church, in all places where penance and the love of solitude had gathered Christians together, the acts of these converted knights, the victories won by God Himself over these brave hearts call forth our admiration. In Apulia, two patricians of Capua, Ladenulphe and Adenulphe, followed by their nephew, climbed the heights of Monte Cassino, to adopt the habit of St. Benedict, almost at the very tomb of the holy patriarch, and to offer to him their extensive possessions in Campania.[1] In the Marches, young Rodolphe, with his two elder brothers, gave liberty to all his serfs, offered his castle, reputed to be impregnable, to Peter Damian, and became

extiterunt. Erant hic monachi alto de sanguine nati: erant et humili propagine rusticorum ac pauperum sati. Summa tamen inter eos fraternæ charitatis dilectio semper extitit, unus vivendi modus omnibus fuit, non præponebatur ingenuus ex servitio converso: nec sanguis poterat sibi locum usurpare honoris in medio monachorum, sed virtus. Nam sicut regula nos docet monachorum, sive servus, sive liber, omnes in Christo unum sumus, et sub uno Domino æqualem servitutis militiam bajulamus; quia non est apud Deum personarum acceptio: solummodo in hac parte apud ipsum discernimur, si meliores ab aliis in operibus bonis, et sanctis virtutibus, humilesque inveniamur. . . . Unde non immerito nomen Hirsaugensium monachorum in omni Europa celebre fuit. . . . Inter quos multi fuerunt in omni genere scientiarum doctissimi, et non minus vitæ merito, quam eruditione Scripturarum venerandi; et multi quidem in sæculo magni, et gloriosi ducum, comitum, nobiliumque filii seu cathedralium, aliarumque canonici, vel prælati ecclesiarum, ac viri docti, sive magnifici, odore sanctitatis monachorum Hirsaugiensium excitati, omnia contemnentes quæ possederant, ad consortium pauperum Christi venerunt, et pro Dei omnipotentis amore monasticæ conversationis habitum suscipientes tanta se in pauperum Christi humilitate dejecerunt, ac si cunctis vitæ diebus idiotæ indoctissimi, aut mendicorum filii extitissent."—TRITHEMIUS, *Chron. Hirsaug.*, ad ann. 1099, vol. i. p. 322, ed. 1690.

[1] In 1051. "Nobiles Capuani una cum Petro nepote suo simul ad hoc monasterium gratia conversionis venerunt, cunctasque facultates et hæreditates seu possessiones suas, quas in toto principatu Capuano habebant B. Benedicto ex integro obtulerunt."—LEO OST., *Chron.*, ii. c. 86. We read there a long enumeration of the domains which the two knights sacrificed.

a monk in the congregation directed by that holy doctor.[1] In Suabia, Count Eberhard of Nellenburg, acknowledging the favours God had heaped upon him, separated from his wife and six children, gave up his vast domains and his military life, and shut himself up in the monastery which he founded on the banks of the Rhine, and which was destined to become the cradle of the town of Schaffhausen.[2] Champagne saw Count Guarin de Rosnay, at the call of Gregory VII., and enriched by his apostolic benediction, give himself and all his fiefs to the prince of the apostles and to St. Berchaire, in the abbey of Montierender,[3] where he took the vows. In Normandy, one of the greatest of the victorious race, Hugh, Count of Meulan, entered as a simple convert at the abbey of Bec;[4] and one of the bravest knights of the Vexin, Roger of Heudiecourt, having been severely wounded in fight, gave up all his patrimony to the abbey of St. Evroul, where he became a monk, and where for seven years he willingly endured the Benedictine rule in spite of his wound, which, by frequently reopening, constantly reminded him of his former glorious exploits.[5]

And who were these charcoal-burners, who, in the depths of so many half-felled forests, gave themselves so heartily to the labours of their calling? There we find Ebrard, Count of Breteuil and *vidame* of Chartres, with many companions

[1] "Servis duntaxat libertate donatis, castrum suum mihi inexpugnabili munitione vallatum cum omnibus quæ sui juris erant prædiis contulit, atque ad eremum veniens, habitum monasticæ professionis accepit."—SANCTI PETRI DAMIANI, *Vit. S. Rodulph. in Oper.*, p. 357.

[2] He died in 1075.—*Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. p. ii., vol. ix. p. 342.

[3] In 1082. "Consilio habito cum domno apostolico Hildebrando nomine . . . ut morerer mundo et viverem Deo, in remissionem omnium delictorum et ad salutem antecessorum meorum, cum benedictione apostolici, cum licentia episcopi mei Hugonis Tricassenis, et cum favore Teobaldi comitis palatini, cum laude etiam propinquorum meorum, dedi me cum alodiis meis, principibus apostolorum Petro et Paulo, venerabili quoque Berchario."—MABILL., *Ann.*, vol. v., Append. No. 16.

[4] In 1072.—ORDER. VITAL., l. iii. p. 14, ed. Leprévost.

[5] "Sanies quantum testa ovi anseris capere possit."—ORD. VIT., book iii. p. 114. From 1061 to 1066.

in his sacrifices: a man who, young, rich, and magnificent, and holding a place among the first nobles of France, had been so haughty and so irritable, that men hardly dared to speak to him;[1] until, suddenly touched by divine grace, he stripped himself of all, fled, poor and naked, far from his vast patrimony, and set himself as a penance to burn charcoal—happy in finding himself able to say, as he came back from the town where he had sold his work, "At last I have attained the highest riches."[2]

Count Ebrard, however, only followed the example of one of his peers—Theobald, son of the seigneur of Provins, of the family of the Counts of Champagne, whose history deserves that we should linger a moment over it. One day this young noble, who was soon to receive his knightly spurs, escaped from his father's castle with his faithful Walter; and having resolved to forsake parents, friends, estates, and fortune, he left his horses and squires at an inn in the outskirts of Rheims, and fled to conceal himself in Germany.[3] There

[1] "Is in ætate positus florulenta, cum gratissimæ esset elegantiæ, præsertim cum sæculi nobilitate genus ejus, ita et mirabili specierum conspicuitate polleret . . . divitiarum etiam omnium claritate pateret: mens hominis in multo superbiæ fastu constituta. . . . Vir inter primores Franciæ undecumque famosus. . . . Adeo indignabundæ habitudinis, ut facile cuipiam, vel verbo aggressibilis nequaquam videbatur."—GUIBERTI NOVIGENTI, *De vita sua*, l. i. c. 9.

[2] "Cum carbonibus faciendis . . . operam daret, et hac illacque cum suis per rura et oppida venum ferret, tum primum ratus est se supremas attigisse divitias."—*Ibid.* After having lived some years in this way, Ebrard became a monk at Marmoutier, where the monks spoke of him in these terms in a deed of 1072: "Domnus Ebrardus nudus et pauper effectus, patria et parentibus derelictis, peregre profectus est."—Ap. MABILL., *Ann. Ben.*, vol. v., Append. No. 6.

[3] "Parentibus non solum nobilibus, rerum etiam clarissimis atque ditissimis. . . . Assumpto Waltero, quodam milite suo . . . relicta domo, patre, matre . . . mancipiis, amplissimisque prædiis, cumque omnibus sæculi pompis, quasi proximo Pasche accincturus militiæ cingulum. . . . Apud S. Remigii suburbium, . . . armigeris atque equis in hospitio relictis . . . nudis pedibus pervenerunt ad locum qui dicitur Picingo in Teutonicorum regno."—*Vit. S. Theobaldi. auct.* PETRO, *abbat. æquali*, in *Act. SS. O. B.* vol. ix. p. 167.

he entered the service of a rough peasant, earned his living by the sweat of his brow, and resolved to vanquish his pride by mowing the hay, cleaning out the stables, and burning charcoal in the woods.[1] One afternoon, when he had hired himself out to weed a vineyard, and when the fatigue of his stooping attitude and the scratches on his too delicate hands and on his unshod feet had made him work languidly, the rustic who employed him, but who did not even understand his language, began to beat him soundly with a goad; all of which he supported patiently, and even joyfully, says the holy writer, for love of penance.[2] After this rude novitiate, the young count went on pilgrimage to St. James of Compostello, then to Rome, and ended by becoming a monk in Lombardy.[3]

This trade of woodman or charcoal-burner, willingly embraced by the Counts of Breteuil and Provins,[4] was also an object of ambition to a yet more illustrious penitent, whose conversion caused a profound sensation under the pontificate

[1] "Isti usque ad vilissima et laboriosissima rusticorum opera devoluti sunt . . . lapides ferendo, fœnum ex pratis secando, stabula curando, et maxime carbones, ut idem Beatus simpliciter postea referebat, ad opera fabrilia faciendo."—*Vit. S. Theobaldi*, p. 167.

[2] "Ut ad vineas herbis inutilibus purgandas conduceretur . . . dorso inclinato dolente, excruciatis quoque nudis manibus in herbarum eradicatione, pedibus nudis per sentes et silices excoriatis . . . stimulo aculeato cædere cœpit et pungere. . . . Alter enim alterius linguam non intelligebat."—*Ibid.*, p. 168.

[3] He died in 1066, and was canonised by Alexander III. It was in his honour that Duke Robert II. of Burgundy, about 1290, built a priory church, the choir of which, still standing, is a perfect prodigy of elegance, elevation, and beauty. It contains the shrine of St. Theobald, of which Didron's *Annales archéologiques* have given an exact description; a lateral door, admirably carved; and, finally, the tombs of a knight and his wife, considered among the best-preserved monuments of Christian sculpture. St. Thibaut en Auxois is situated on the road from Semur to Pouilly, on the banks of the canal. Every traveller who passes through this corner of France ought, at any sacrifice, to visit this little-known marvel of Burgundy.

[4] This is what we must conclude, from the following verses, attributed by some to Theobald de Mailly, and by others to Theobald de Montmorency, Seigneur of Marly, who took the cross in 1117, and became a Cister-

of Gregory VII.: Simon,[1] Count of Valois, of Crépy, of Amiens, of Mantes, of Vexin, of Bar and Vitry, standard-bearer to the king, heir of the ancient race of Counts of Vermandois, so terrible to the Carlovingian kings, one of the most powerful and warlike vassals of Philip I., and reputed the richest landed proprietor of France.[2]

cian monk in 1179. This poet-knight of the twelfth century is quoted by Labbe and by Mabillon in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 374:—

"Ains vos vueil amentoivre de Simon de Crepy . . .
Quant qu'il avoit au siecle laissa et enhaï,
Bien le laissa voir, que sa terre en guerpi.
Dedans une forest en essil s'enfoui;
La devint charboners, i tel ordre choisi."

We do not know why Père Chifflet and the Bollandists (vol. viii. of Sept., p. 730) have chosen to see in this word *charcoal-burner* nothing but a simple designation arising from the black colour of the Benedictine frock; they had no doubt lost sight of the passages in Gilbert de Nogent and the contemporary biographer of St. Theobald of Provins, which we have quoted above.

[1] For a full account of the titles and possessions of Count Simon, *see* the Bollandists (vol. viii. Sept., p. 719). It is generally thought that the ducal house of St. Simon springs from the sister of Simon, who married Herbert, Count of Vermandois, and took the name of St. Simon in honour of our saint.—IMHOF., *Geneal. exc. Familiar. Franc.*, p. 199; *Act. SS. Bolland.*, book c. pp. 713, 744.

[2] As we learn from the notice discovered at St. Claude by the Père Chifflet, and inserted in the vol. of 30th Sept. of the Bollandists, No. 43, Raoul III., Count of Valois, Crépy, &c., the father of this Simon, had married Adèle, daughter of the Count of Bar-sur-Aube, in the most romantic fashion. One day, on his journey to Rome, Raoul, passing beneath the castle of Bar, was told that a young lady, an orphan and a widow, was living there. He presented himself to this lady, asked her hand, obtained it, and continued his journey after having sworn to marry her on his return. But during the knight's absence, the nobles of the neighbourhood, unwilling to submit to too powerful an ascendancy, decided that the countess should marry Rainard, Count of Joigny, who carried her off to his castle. On his return from Rome, Raoul besieged Joigny, destroyed the castle, delivered his betrothed, and conducted her to La Ferté, whence she was again carried off. Finally, he delivered her a second time, married her at Crépy, and became by this marriage Count of Bar and of Vitry (*Vie des saints de Franche-Comté*, vol. iii. p. 334 *et seq.*) Raoul III. married afterwards Anne of Russia, widow of Henry I., his relation in the fifth degree, for which he was excommunicated. Simon, second son of Raoul III., born

Unjustly persecuted by his suzerain, who endeavoured to despoil him during his minority, he assembled his vassals and made war on the king with equal energy and success.[1] At the same time, desiring to clear up any doubts as to the lawfulness of his possessions, he went, in 1075,[2] to Rome, to consult Pope Gregory VII., whose instructions he followed in scrupulously repairing every injustice his father had committed.

On his return to France, Simon resumed hostilities against the king, and showed himself so skilful a knight that he forced Philip to conclude a treaty, ratified by an assembly of nobles, by which his rights were recognised and his domains restored.[3] This warlike life did not make the

in 1048, and brought up at the court of William the Conqueror, whose wife, Matilda, was his cousin, was passionately fond of hunting, and this passion led to his conversion. One day when he was hawking, holding his falcon on his wrist, he happened to fly the bird at a prey which he was extremely anxious to take. Being disappointed, he gave way to a violent fit of rage, in which he swore that, from that moment, he *would hate everything good and love everything evil.* This sort of treaty with the devil was quickly followed by repentance, and from that moment the young man earnestly endeavoured to strengthen himself in welldoing. Walter, elder brother of Simon, having been killed in war, the latter remained sole heir of the Count of Valois. A little older than Philip I., the son of his stepmother, the young count had to support, with varied fortunes, a fierce struggle with the king, who wished to deprive him of his dominions. Obeying the advice of St. Gregory VII., Simon did not hesitate to exhume the body of his father from its tomb in the town of Montdidier, of which place Raoul III. had unjustly possessed himself. At the sight of the decaying body of a prince once so powerful and so much dreaded, Simon was seized with a disgust for power and glory.—GUIB. NOVIG., *de Vit. sua*, book i. c. 10.

[1] "Concitat gentem suam, et velut frendens leo, licet corde dolens, perturbat et devastat quod in regis reperit possessione, et donec proprium possideat asserit nullo modo retroire."—*Vit. S. Simonis, comitis Crespeiensis, auctore Synchrono*, c. 1, post Ven. GUIBERTI NOVIG. opera, ed. d'Achery, 1651, fol., p. 672. This life is found also in the *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 374; and in the Bollandists, vol. viii. of Sept.

[2] In 1075, the Bollandists say; but 1074, according to Alberic.

[3] "Rursus regem aggrediens, certamen ut miles optimus amplexatur et donec victor existeret, licet invitus a belli negotio minime relaxatur. . . . Fit conventus nobilium, judicium fit a sapientibus, quæ jure contigerat hæreditas Simoni judicatur et redditur."—*Vit. S. Simonis; ibid.*, c. 3.

brave count forgetful of the practice of piety; however wearied he might be by the combats and exploits of the day, he never failed to make it a duty to be present at the matins of the monks.[1]

Meantime, an ardent desire of conversion, and a passionate aspiration towards monastic life, had taken possession of the knight's soul. This young and brilliant victor, this powerful lord, who passed for the richest man in France after the king, thought only of sacrificing his glory, his opulence, and his life for the love of God.[2] His barons having chosen for his wife the daughter of Count Hildebert de la Marche, who was as beautiful as she was high-born, the count ratified the choice by going to seek the princess in Auvergne, followed by a brilliant *cortège*. But amidst all the pomp of the marriage, he profited by the first moments of liberty allowed him with his betrothed, and the first caresses which their future union authorised, to preach to the young girl the duties of continence and of a retirement from the world.[3] When she saw her affianced husband resolved to renounce her and their wedded life, she determined to equal him in generosity; and accordingly fled,[4] the same night, with two knights who were her near relations, to take the veil of a

[1] "Cum fere triennio labore militari implicitus caro illius requiem non haberet, nocte tamen armorum fatigatione minime detentus solo tantum comite contentus ecclesiarum limina subiens, matutinis semper interesse gaudebat."—*Vit. S. Simonis*, c. 2.

[2] "Omissis deliciis, quarum ubertas tanta illi affluebat, ut pene post regem in tota regione nullus ditior, nec rebus opulentior videretur."—*Ibid.*, c. 6. Cf. GUIBERT NOVIG., *de Vit. sua*, vol. i. c. 10.

[3] "Eleganti forma, facie pulcherrima, genere nobilis. . . . Magnatum multitudo mandatur, ornatus diversitas appetitur. . . . Sponsa venienti Simoni oscula pergens amplexatur. . . . Oscula dabantur sanctitate condita, amplexus implicabantur luxuria remota, aliisque credentibus eorum dicta lasciva jucunditate repleta, vir Domini prædicationis verbum et dulcia vitæ colloquia, ut ambo sæculo renuntiarent, cordi illius inserebat." *Ibid.*, c. 4. Cf. GUIB. NOVIG., *de Vit. sua*, i. c. 9; ALBERICI TRIUM FONTIUM, *Chronic.*, ad ann. 1076, ap. LEIBNITZ, *Acces. histor.*, c. ii.

[4] "Quæ cum amantissimum juvenem sibi et mundo repudium dedisse rescisset, ipsa inferior videri non tolerans, virginalibus turmis," &c.—GUIB., l. i. c. 10.

nun at Vau-Dieu, in a wild and narrow valley, near the source of the Allier,[1] where Robert, the great monastic apostle of Auvergne, had founded a place of refuge for widows of the province.[2]

Scarcely had Count Simon returned to his domains after this glorious victory over himself, than the King of England, William the Conqueror, who had been his guardian, sent in haste to offer him the hand of his daughter Matilda. Simon refused, making their too near relationship[3] the pretext, and left home on his way to Rome, saying that he must seek counsel from the Pope. But first he wished to give a pledge of his devotion to the monastic metropolis of Cluny, whither flowed, so to speak, all the piety of the age. On the 22nd of March 1070, by a deed signed in the presence of Philip of France, and sealed with the royal seal, the count gave to the Abbot Hugh the monastery which he had founded in his castle of Crépy, and where the ashes of his fathers rested.[4] After this Simon started; but before crossing the Alps, he wished to stop at St. Oyant or St. Claude, the celebrated abbey in the Jura, whose origin has already been related, and he there obtained his admission as a monk. But soon, desiring a yet harder life and a yet more complete solitude, he asked and obtained permission to betake himself to the almost uninhabited heights of the mountains north of St. Claude. Then he sought the spot where the rapid waters

[1] "Junctis illis conversionis et generis propinquitate collegis duobus."—GUIB., l. i. c. 10. Both became monks, and one was afterwards Archbishop of Bourges.—See further on.

[2] We may still admire the deserted but yet standing cloister where lived so long and holily the generous bride of the Count de Crépy.

[3] Simon was, in fact, related in the sixth degree to the wife of the Conqueror, Matilda of Flanders.

[4] In this act Simon declares, that having for Hugh of Cluny "more affection than for any other in the world, he gives to this abbot and his successors the monastery of St. Arnoul, built in his castle of Crépy, and that he wishes the abbot of it to be chosen from among the monks of Cluny, according to the Spirit of God and the rule of St. Benedict."—Ap. BOLLAND., 30th September, No. 117.

of the Doubs rush out from the depths of a cave in the side of Noirmont, and spread into a broad current as they traverse the wide and gloomy forests. In these woods, not appropriated by the Burgundians after the conquest, but which a vague tradition declares to have been given to St. Claude by Charlemagne—on this sterile soil, which, in fact, belonged to whoever should first occupy it—Simon built himself a cabin by the edge of the Doubs,[1] where he earned a poor living as a woodman, in imitation of the two counts spoken of above—subsisting on bread and wild fruits, and even of this poor food keeping something with which to relieve hungry travellers.[2] He thus contributed to the clearing of the Jura, which was gradually effected in the course of several centuries by the monks of St. Claude; and to him is generally attributed the foundation of the twelve monasteries or priories in the midst of these scarcely inhabited mountains.[3] But he was not long permitted to enjoy this much-desired solitude. The report of his conversion spread far and near, exciting wonder and admiration throughout Normandy, and all the provinces of Flanders to the borders of Germany, where he was known and loved.[4] And the

[1] Simon's cabin was the origin of the priory of Mouthe, which grew to be the capital of the canton of the same name in the present department of the Doubs. The church of Mouthe is still consecrated to St. Simon.

[2] "Cœpit namque ut de proprio manuum viveret, ubi novalia fierent scindere cum securi. Cibus erat tenuis panis cum aqua, legumen et poma sylvestria, et hoc semel in die, excepta Dominica. . . . Et quæ domi contulerat aquam collo deferens ipse mala cum pulmento decoxit. . . . Accidit ut quidam viator esuriens illic agapem postularet: Panis, inquit, deest, sed sunt poma sylvestria."—GUIBERT, c. 9, 10.

[3] See as to this clearing of the Jura, the excellent *Essai sur l'histoire de la Franche-Comté*, by M. EDOUARD CLERC (vol. i., 1837); the *Mémoires de Droz*, on Portarlier (p. 121); and the Life of St. Simon in vol. iii. of the *Vies des saints de Franche-Comté*, by the professor of the Catholic College at Besançon, 1856.

[4] "Igitur Flandriæ, Normaniæ . . . tanti viri rumore suscepto stupore mirabantur: quippe qui notus regionibus illis dilectus Domino, et tam carus omnibus erat," &c.—*Vit. S. Simonis, post* GUIBERTUM, c. 6. All the contemporary chronicles celebrate with enthusiasm the conversion of Simon. "See," says one of these, "this golden star, this handsome Simon,

Abbot Hugh, taking advantage of the influence which the illustrious penitent was likely to exercise,[1] begged him to undertake a mission to King Philip to ask the restitution of certain property taken from Cluny by that prince. The Count of Vermandois, not long ago the victorious rival of the monarch, but now humbly clothed in the Benedictine robe, accepted the mission, and went to visit his ancient enemy at Compiègne,[2] though he was still suffering from a wound caused by the fall of a pine while he was labouring as a pioneer in the forests of the Jura. Entering the town, Simon was recognised by the people; an immense crowd, eager to see him, assembled round him and conducted him in a kind of triumph to the palace, making the air resound with shouts.[3] The king received him with all honour, and immediately granted him the object of his request. Thence Simon went to the court of the King of England to try to establish peace between him and his eldest son Robert. At the news of the saint's arrival, several knights who had been his vassals, and others, to the number of nearly a thousand, came to meet him with presents of gold, silver, mules, and palfreys.[4] Simon refused all these, contenting himself with the success of his intervention between the father and son. Before leaving William, the count had private interviews with him and his wife, in which he urged upon their atten-

who gave up his beautiful wife, and the country where he ruled over millions of vassals." "*Sydus aureum . . . pulcherrimum Simon . . . reliquit sponsam decoratissimam . . . et totam descrens Francorum gentem in qua inter millia servorum dominabatur.*"—HARIULF., *Vita S. Arnulfi*, c. 25.

[1] "Notum sit vestræ Celsitudini, beatissime pater, me plus quam omnes homines in carne viventes in Deum diligere," &c.—*Ad.* V. GUIBERTI, *opera, not. et observ.*, ed. D'Achery, p. 597.

[2] Where he was present at the translation of the Holy Shroud.

[3] "A quibusdam, qui festivitati intererant, statim agnoscitur. . . . Vox populi et turbæ lætantis clamor attollitur. Simon fere ab omnibus clamabatur; Simon certatim aspicitur, et sic usque ad palatium regis vix, turba premente, subtrahitur."—*Vita*, c. 11.

[4] "Qui sui in sæculo dicebantur, alii et quamplures, pene milites mille . . . et quisque de proprio aurum vel argentum, mulam seu palefridum ut acciperet, devote precabantur."—*Ibid.*

tion the serious yet consoling lessons of religion; the queen, bathed in tears, was so overcome that she could not speak.[1]

Simon then went to visit Bec, of which his friend the great St. Anselm had just been appointed abbot; and after having spent some time in his own domains of Valois and Vermandois, he returned with gladness to his dear solitude, whence Gregory VII. soon after recalled him to Rome.[2] The Pope then confided to him the mission of reconciling Robert Guiscard with the Holy See. Simon prospered in this new negotiation, and also rendered to the Roman Church, then engaged in a most dangerous struggle with the Emperor Henry IV., the inestimable service of securing to it the Norman Alliance, which was destined to be the safeguard of Gregory VII. and his successors. Shortly afterwards Simon fell ill and died at Rome[3] in the arms of the Sovereign Pontiff, who caused him to be buried among the Popes.[4]

The conversion of the Count of Valois produced a profound impression upon the contemporary nobles, and found many imitators among them. When Simon left his home to take refuge at St. Claude, five knights of his household, all well born and of great reputation, joined[5] their fate to his and followed his example.

[1] "Adeo ut regina, sicut bonarum moris est mulierum, loqui nequiret verba, intercedente ploratu."—*Vita*, c. 11.

[2] The abbot of St. Oyand, wishing to keep Simon in the Jura, hid from him the pope's letters; but Gregory threatened to interdict the abbey if his call were not obeyed.

[3] The 30th September 1082, according to Mabillon (*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix.); but in 1080, according to the Bollandists (vol. viii. September, p. 742).

[4] "Tum, præcipiente episcopo, sepulturæ locus inter apostolicos præparatur: et quia apostolicam vitam studuit imitari, merito hujus apicis adeptus est dignitatem."—*Ibid.*, i. 14.

[5] "Junctis sibi de familia quibusdam viris nobilissimis."—*Vit. S. Simon.*, *post* GUIBERTUM, c. 6. "Præmiserat ante se duos illustrissimos viros, domnum Rodulfum et domn. Franconem; secum vero duxit D. Rotbertum, D. Arnulfum et D. Warnerium. Hi omnes et secundum genus sæculi clarissimi et secundum Deum nobilissimi, postea se holocaustum Deo obtulerunt."—JOANN. MONACH., *Chron. Besuens.*, in *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 434, ed. in-fol.

Another lord named Stephen, descended both on the father's and mother's side from a long line of nobles,[1] had scarcely assumed the arms of knighthood when he put off its symbols to present himself also at St. Claude, in order to learn how best under the yoke of monastic rule to sacrifice the inclinations of fallen human nature.[2] During his travels in France, Count Simon, by the humility and sweet purity of which his countenance and language bore the impress, had exercised over Christians of all ranks and ages an influence so powerful, that wherever he went, a crowd of men and women, on seeing him, determined to embrace the religious life. But it was the order of knighthood which supplied him with the most numerous recruits. A contemporary writer says that it was the example of Simon alone which sufficed to decide the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Mâcon to become monks at Cluny, and many other nobles to give up the world.[3] In Italy the Count exercised the same influence. During his mission to Robert Guiscard in the interest of Pope Gregory, he persuaded by his preaching nearly sixty Norman knights to put on the armour of God—that is to say, to take the monastic habit

[1] "Patre nobilissimo progenitus, qui et ipse non solum consul, sed etiam a patre et avo consulibus originem duxit. De matre . . . quod dixerim, nisi quod ex utraque parte . . . ex progenie consulum, imo ab ipsis consulibus est generata." She was daughter of the Count de Rosnel.—JOANN. MONACH., *ibid.*

[2] "Erat adhuc tenellus, militaribus tamen armis decoratus . . . sæculari balteo abrenuntians, in præfato cœnobio monachilem vitam arripuit, ibique . . . per decem annos se in Dei servitio mactavit."—*Ibid.* This Stephen became in 1086 abbot of Bèze, and was one of the most distinguished superiors of this great monastery.

[3] "Tot tantosque sermonum ejus puritas, et animi, quam in facie præferebat, humilitas, viros animavit et fœminas, ut infinita sexuum agmina ad viæ prosecutionem istius . . . conflarentur . . . exemplo ejus nomine. . . . Equestrium siquidem virorum studium hominis multum sollicitavit examen."—GUIB. NOVIG., *de Vita sua*, i. c. 10. "Jam carus omnibus erat quatenus Hugo Burgundiæ dux . . . et ejusdem ordinis quamplures, pietatis affectu et illius dulcedine inflammati, arma deponerent, seculum relinquentes. . . . Nobiles pariter et ignobiles, audito ejus nomine, imitabantur."—*Vit. S. Simon.*, c. 6.

—in the different abbeys of Apulia.[1] Thus a Benedictine chronicler designates Simon as the chief of those princes who were "formerly like lions for the terror which they inspired, like leopards for the diversity of their crimes, but who, later, became humble as hyssop, odorous as myrrh, and whiter than snow."[2] Among those nobles whom the example or the exhortations of the Count of Valois induced to take the vows, we may cite Werner or Garnier de Montmorillon, one of the two knights who had accompanied their cousin the young Countess of Marche, the betrothed of Count Simon, in her flight and retreat at Chaise-Dieu.[3] Werner was reckoned among the noblest lords of Poitou. He had, while still in the world, prepared himself for his monastic vocation by a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostello; and on his return from the holy shrine, he had sacrificed, in order to relieve a sick beggar, a pair of richly-ornamented gloves, the gift of a lady whom he tenderly loved.[4] Having afterwards entered as a monk at Chaise-Dieu, he served God there for forty years.[5] One day one of the monks of the monastery had a vision, in which an angel, after having

[1] "Cujus allocutioni assensum præbentes, pene sexaginta milites secularibus omissis, arma dominica susceperunt; et sic viri Dei prædicatione monachilem habitum . . . susceperunt."—*Vit. S. Simon.*, c. 13.

[2] "Principes enim qui prius fuerant similes leonibus propter crudelitatem et terrorem, et leopardis propter, &c. . . . hysopina, humili scilicet, confessione mundati, per myrrham mortificationum candore sunt super nivem dealbati. Horum autem caput et dux exstitit comes Francorum nobilissimus, Simon nomine," &c.—*Chron. Besuens.*

[3] The other was Hildebert de Montmorillon, brother of Garnier, and afterwards Abbot of Deols and Archbishop of Bourges.—ORDER. VIT., book viii. p. 714, ed. Duchesne; MABILL., *Ann. Ben.*, book lxiv. c. 98.

[4] "Miles illustris . . . dum adhuc in armis mundo serviret, in introitu cujusdam sylvæ solus cum armigero suo languenti mendico repente occurrit, et poscenti stipem nummos quos daret manu non habuit: sed pretiosas chirothecas ab amica sibi directas devote porrexit."—ORDER. VIT.

[5] "Casæ Dei monachus fere XL. annis Deo militavit."—ORDER. VIT. But it should have been at St. Cyprian, according to the biographer of the B. Bernard de Tiron. Perhaps this Garnier is the same as the one who accompanied Count Simon to St. Claude.—Cf. MABILL., *Ann. Ben.*, book lxiv. c. 98, and book lxvii. c. 61.

imposed upon him a special mission, added these words: "I speak in the name of Him whom Martin clothed with half his mantle, and to whom Garnier gave his embroidered gloves." The monk related this vision to the abbot and the elders of the monastery; they knew perfectly the story of St. Martin at Amiens, but puzzled themselves as to what could be meant by Garnier's gloves. At last the old knight Garnier de Montmorillon was questioned, and simply related the history of the love-gift which he had sacrificed in his youth. Then the monks, being all assembled, gave thanks to God, the invisible and immortal witness of the least of our good deeds.[1]

Part of the vast estates possessed before his conversion by Simon, Count of Valois and Vermandois, belonged to the diocese of Soissons. This town received, shortly after, as its bishop, the monk Arnoul, who, previous to his elevation to the episcopate, lived in a cell in the environs of the abbey of St. Medard, of which he had been abbot. At the very hour of the death of the saintly Count Simon at Rome, the event was revealed to the recluse Arnoul in his cell at Soissons by a vision. He announced it to the monks of the monastery, advising them to celebrate the obsequies of their illustrious countryman and benefactor.[2] The monks obeyed, though doubting the truth of the prediction; but before the end of the month, they were able to convince themselves that the solitary had spoken truth.

[1] "Cuidam religioso . . . post matutinos in oratorio supplicanti angelica visio apparuit. . . . Ille me misit ad te, et hæc tibi mandavit quem Martinus parte chlamydis suæ vestivit, et qui Guarnerius chirothecas suas donavit. . . . Senioribus historia de Martini divisa chlamyde satis claruit . . . sed res de Garnerii chirothecis omnino diu latuit. Tandem ipse . . . simpliciter detexit. . . . Deoque qui bona facientibus semper præsto est, gratias egit."—ORD. VIT., book c.

[2] "Ite, fratres, festinanter; nuntiate abbati et fratribus, quia domnus Simon, olim comes Vermandensis, hodie de hac vita recessit, et jubeat abbas velociter celebrari officium pro exitu tanti viri. . . . Notate diem, notate horam, et invenietis ita esse."—HARIULFI, ABB. ALDENB, *coœqualis Vit. S. Arnul.*, l. i. c. 25, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 524.

This Arnoul had many points of resemblace to Simon: like him, he had given up all the honours and advantages of the world to devote himself to God in a monastic life. Sprung from a very wealthy and illustrious Flemish house,[1] nephew of the Counts of Namur, of Louvain, of Loos, and of Mons, he had early attained the rank of knighthood,[2] and had distinguished himself by a valour and physical strength above that of all his contemporaries, which procured him the name of Arnoul the Strong. He was so strong, in fact, that he used the mast of a ship as a lance, and could lift up a waggon loaded with hay with the help of one other man. When the Emperor Henry held his court at Utrecht, Arnoul astonished and surpassed all the German knights by his Flemish vigour.[3] He made, however, the noblest use of his strength in the distant expeditions in which, as a vassal of the empire, he took part; and he constantly endeavoured to put an end to the private wars which desolated Brabant and Flanders. He often succeeded in this, thanks to his valour, which was irresistible, and above all to his eloquence, which gained him great influence in the courts of justice of those princes whom he served as a vassal or as a companion in arms.[4]

In the midst of all this success, Arnoul one day ordered his squire to prepare everything in the most splendid manner, as if he were going in state to visit the French king. But instead of appearing at the court of France, it was to

[1] That of Pamèle. His father was "non solum generis spectabilis nobilitate, sed et rerum copia mundanarum ditatus inter cæteros compatriotas."—HARIULFI, *ibid.*, c. i.

[2] "Susceptis juxta votum amicorum, ritumque nobilium militiæ signis." *Ibid.*, c. 3. "Omni humana virtute præstantior in rebus militaribus fuit." —*Compend. Vit. S. Arn. cod. loc.*, p. 555.

[3] HARIULFI, c. 4.

[4] "Omnia denique militiæ studia percurrit, imperialibus seu regalibus bellis interfuit, in principium curiis quaquaversum veniens facundus causidicus enituit . . . lites . . . seditionesque tremore suæ incomparabilis fortitudinis compressit: dum non esset qui illum viribus seu verbis ratione validis obviare tentaret."—*Ibid.*, c. 5.

the cloister of St. Medard that he turned his steps, there to offer to God his arms, his rich garments, and his long hair.[1] He lived there as a recluse and monk without pronouncing a single word for three years and a half, until the day when his superiors dragged him by force from the cloister to appoint him abbot. But at the end of some years, in spite of the entreaties of the monks, who conjured him in the name of the martyr-saint Sebastian, of the venerable confessor Medard, and of the holy Pope Gregory, whose relics they possessed,[2] that he would not abandon them, he laid down the abbatial crosier in order to escape the importunities of King Philip, who wished to force him to accompany his military expeditions at the head of the knightly vassals of the abbey.[3] Arnoul refused to take up again the trade of arms, which he had renounced when he became a monk; he returned with delight to his solitary cell, whence his fame spread throughout France, and whither the nobles of the kingdom came to visit him and consult him[4] for the peace of the Church and the salvation of their souls. On the death of the Bishop of Soissons, he was again forced to leave his retirement and occupy the episcopal throne. Afterwards, Gregory VII. charged him with the duties of legate, and sent him to pacify the sanguinary quarrels which were perpetually bursting out afresh in Flanders, and to maintain the threatened rights

[1] "Convocatis duobus armigeris suis, jubet quantocius omnia armorum vasa aptari, qualiter cum eximio decore et pompa decenti, curiam regis Francorum valeret adire . . . festinus expetit ecclesiam. . . . Armaque cum vestibus cultissimis quas attulerat ad ecclesiam conferentem attondent fratres."—HARIULFI, c. 5.

[2] "Monemus te per martyrium Sebastiani, per confessionem Medardi, per papatum Gregorii," &c.—*Ibid.*, c. 16.

[3] "Ego infelix, qui militiam causa Dei abjeci, rursus stipabor militibus? . . . Rex misit legatos qui dicerent fuisse morem antiquum ut milites abbatiæ, abbate prævio, regali expeditioni inservirent."—*Ibid.*, c. 16.

[4] "In terra Francorum gloriosam adeptus est famam; in tantum ut tota regni nobilitas ejus uti benedictionibus congauderet, et totius dignitatis homines ejus colloquium ardenter requirerent, tam de pace Ecclesiæ quam de salute animarum consilium flagitantes."—*Ibid.*, c. 8.

of the Church there; but even then the humble monk would travel in no other way than on an ass, thus better to express his entire renunciation of all the splendour of chivalry.[1]

About the time when Bishop Arnoul fulfilled this peaceful mission in the Belgian provinces, there was at St. Peter's, in Ghent, a monk of noble family named Wederic,[2] who, provided with credentials from Pope Gregory VII., began to travel through Flanders and Brabant with the object of preaching faith and pure morality, which had been injured by the struggle between the Church and the empire. At his summons, six knights, among whom was Gerard the Black, accounted the most famous warrior of these provinces,[3] hastened to give up all their unjustly-acquired wealth, and during several months humbly followed the steps of the apostolic preacher. Then Wederic, seeing them all inflamed with the desire to abandon themselves entirely to the religious life,[4] directed them to Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, who was then head of the Catholic party in the empire. Following his advice, the six neophytes resolved to consecrate themselves to penance in the very places where they had disgraced themselves by rapine.[5] They chose a

[1] "Postquam sæculi militiam deposui terga equi nunquam sedere proposui . . . non aliqua vanitate, sed D. N. J. C. imitatione."—HARIULFI, *Vita S. Arnul.* in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. pp. 510, 516, 543. This life of St. Arnoul is one of the finest and most curious narratives in this invaluable collection. Arnoul died on the day of the Assumption 1087, after having been comforted by a vision of Our Lady, who promised him that she would receive his soul for the glorious feast of the Assumption. An immense number of miracles were worked on the tomb of the saint, which drew great crowds of pilgrims from Flanders, Hainault, and Artois, until his solemn translation, which took place in 1121.—*Loc. cit.*, p. 552.

[2] "Wedericus sacerdos et monachus . . . vir sæculare nobilitate, et quod majus est, divina religione valde conspicuus."—*Historia Affligemiensis*, c. 1, ap. D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 770.

[3] "In armorum strenuitate per has provincias tunc famosissimus."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Magistrum pauperum pauperes sequuti sunt. . . . Deinde arctioris vitæ desiderio æstuantes."—*Ibid.*, c. 2.

[5] "Ut locum quem rapinis innocentium ante maculaverant, voluntaria afflictione divino servitio manciparent."—*Ibid.*

desert spot between Brussels and Alost, not far from a high-road where the brigands were accustomed to lie in ambush to pillage merchants and travellers.[1] There they installed themselves, having with them nothing but three loaves, a cheese, and some woodman's tools;[2] and there they built a little oratory, and a modest shelter for pilgrims and the poor. Hardly had they established themselves, when a knight of the neighbourhood named Gerard the White, still more famous for his cruelty than for his courage, became the hero of an extraordinary adventure. Returning one day to his castle after having committed a murder, Gerard suddenly saw before him the demon whom he had long served, and who now came to claim his prey.[3] At this sight, the knight, seized with horrible fear, put spurs to his horse and fled at a gallop to the place where the new converts lived in penance and in poverty. He implored them to admit him among them; and very soon, according to the expression consecrated to such cases by the monkish annalists, the wolf was changed into a lamb.

This surprising news passed from mouth to mouth; and a great impression was made on the general mind by the sudden conversion of a man considered until then as a monster of cruelty; an event for which all the country round, much marvelling, returned thanks to God.[4] A few days later another knight, Henrard, also guilty of homicide, but whom remorse had filled with disgust for the world,

[1] *Histor. Afflig., ibid.*, c. 2.

[2] "Tres tantum panes et ipsos eleemosyna acceptos, et unum caseum secum detulerunt, cum paucis ferramentis, et illam terram desertam excolere cœperunt."—*Ibid.*

[3] "In hac provincia crudelitate et robore opinatissimus. . . . Inimicus humani generis in via apparuit. . . . Jamque illi cui diu servierat mancipatum se credens, cogitans tamen si quo modo jus illius posset evadere."—*Ibid.*, c. 3.

[4] "Ad prædictos fratres concito cursu pervenit . . . de lupo in agnum Dei gracia confestim mutatus . . . tantæque admirationis apud universos conversio ejus exstitit, ut alter alterius maximæ novitati gratia hunc tam crudelem, tam immanem conversum esse referret," &c.—*Ibid.*

came to visit the asylum of the new hermits and examine their life.[1] Touched by their union and their austerities, he decided to give up his patrimony and to live by the work of his hands among the penitents of Afflighem.

Such was, in 1083, the origin of that rich and famous abbey, destined to become the most opulent, the most productive, and the most popular in Belgium and the Low Countries. In a deed of confirmation, Count Henry of Brabant, suzerain of all these noble converts, declared distinctly that they had put off their knightly armour to enter the knighthood of Christ.[2] Less than three years after this beginning of their spiritual life, the new monks of Afflighem had already given such proofs of devotion to Gregory VII. and the Roman Church, that they had drawn on themselves persecution from the party of the Emperor Henry IV.[3] They were shortly joined by Heribrand, the rich and powerful lord of a neighbouring castle,[4] followed by his wife, his neighbours, and his friends. Armed, for the last time, with his sword, and holding his banner displayed, no longer against temporal enemies, but against those of his soul, this penitent came to strip himself of his armour and to profess himself the perpetual serf of God and St. Peter.[5] At the end of thirty days, a happy death having

[1] "Cui æque ex pœnitentia homicidii sæculum omne viluerat, cœpit explorare loci situm et inhabitantium conversationem."—*Histor. Aflig.*, *ibid.*, c. 3.

[2] "Balteo militari deposito, ut meliorem invenirent hereditatem, militiam Christi professi sunt."—AUBERT. MIRÆUS, *Codex donat. piar.*, No. 62, *Opera*, vol. i.

[3] *Histor. Aflig.*, c. 7. These persecutions are easily explained. The monks of Afflighem had, in fact, chosen as abbot a monk of Lorraine named Fulgence, who had been exiled from Verdun for asserting the liberty of the Church, and who brought to Afflighem the spirit of Cluny and St. Vannes.

[4] "Princeps quidam vicini castelli, vir secundum sæculi hujus fastum genere inclytus, prædiis et possessionibus ditissimus."—*Ibid.*, c. 12.

[5] "Accinctus ultimo militiæ cingulo, erectoque vexillo proprio, armatus videlicet contra spirituales nequitias, velut ad bellum iturus Afflighem properat . . . non jam cum uxore sed sorore sua, deposita veste militari, se omnipotenti Deo et prælecto ejus apostolo in æternum servum se mancipat."—*Ibid.*, c. 12.

called him into the presence of his new Master, so speedy a reward excited the ambition of the five sons and of the brothers of the dead man, who all successively became monks, though several among them were married, rich, and powerful. One of the brothers of Heribrand specially distinguished himself by his great humility; he who had been formerly renowned as a bold knight, might be seen begging as a favour to be allowed to lead to the mill the asses which carried the grain belonging to the monastery, or to grease with his noble hands the shoes of the monks.[1] This lowest menial office these converted knights and great lords, eager to humiliate themselves voluntarily in order to heighten the contrast between their past and present modes of life, seem to have specially chosen.

We have already said that the Duke of Burgundy, having become a monk at Cluny, undertook exactly this kind of service. At this period Roger de Warenne, nephew of the Earl of Surrey, whose beauty was as remarkable as his valour, left the victorious Normans in England to enter at St. Evroul, where for forty-six years he lived, washing the stockings and greasing the shoes of his brother monks.[2] In the previous century, Adalbert, the apostle of Bohemia and Poland, son of the Duke of Lubicz, intimate friend of Otho III., and monk at St. Alexis on Mount Aventine, while he resided with the Emperor at Mayence, had a custom of going each night, secretly, to look for the shoes and stockings of the palace servants, which he cleaned and put back in their place without being seen;[3] or sometimes he went

[1] "Vir tantæ nobilitatis et nominis. . . . Erat vir in armis strenuus . . . asinos cum annona fratrum ad molendinum minavit, et ut mos est infimis servulis, panem suum in sinu gestans hora prandii super sacculum suum residens, epulas sumpsit . . . fratrum calceamenta . . . ipse lavit, ipse egregiis manibus suis perunxit."—*Histor. Afflig. ibid.*, c. 14, 15.

[2] "Erat corpore venustus. . . . Per plures annos ultro solitus est omnium calceamenta fratrum perungere, pedulesque lavare, aliaque servicia, quæ quibusdam hebetibus et turgidis despicabilia videntur libenter exercere."—ORDER. VIT., book vi. p. 601.

[3] "Cunctis qui in regia domo erant . . . vilissima quæque manibus

out at nightfall into the neighbouring forest, and there cut wood, which he brought in upon his shoulders, for the use of the household.[1] Thus he consoled himself for being far from his monastery, and prepared himself for the martyrdom which attended him on the shores of the Baltic.[2]

These voluntary humiliations, this severe discipline to which the noble penitents subjected themselves, they also, when they became abbots or priors, imposed on all who ranged themselves under their authority. Thus the son of a Flemish noble, St. Poppon, Abbot of St. Trond, known before his conversion as a very valiant knight,[3] put to a most severe test the humility of a young monk of high birth named Gontran, whose pious disposition he had noticed. Wishing to overcome the prejudice which everywhere prevailed among the noble or *equestrian* classes against any kind of pedestrian service, he ordered Gontran to follow him on foot from St. Trond to Stavelot; and when the young novice returned exhausted by this unusual fatigue, Poppon made him sleep at the monastery door.[4] Gontran endured the test well, and soon afterwards became abbot of St. Trond.[5] In the same manner, says St. Peter Damian, Romuald, sprung

tractat . . . noctibus quoque cum carpserant somnum, calceamenta eorum componere cura fuit, a janitore usque ad principem regiæ domus omnium caligas aqua lavit et purgatas sordibus eas suo loco restituit. . . . Serviminis auctor diu latuit incognitus, donec quidam Wolferius, regius imperialis minister et sibi dilectus cubicularius, sanctum prodidit furem."—*Vit. S. Adalberti a Coætaneo*, c. 33, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii., and PERTZ, *Scriptores*, vol. iv.

[1] "Nocte intempesta solus abiens ad silvam, ligno propriis humeris nudis pedibus deferebat."—ADHEM. CABANENS., *Chron.*, ap. LABBE, *Bibl. Nov. MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 168.

[2] LABBE, *Bibl. Nov. MSS.*, *loc. cit.*

[3] EVERHELM, *Vit. S. Poppon.*, c. 4, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii. p. 503.

[4] "Elegantissimæ juvenis qualitate perfecta . . . nec pudore insueti peditis motus (erat claris natalibus ortus), nec difficultate itineris exterritus. . . . Agebat pius pater ex industria qualiter ejus comprobata exaltaretur humilitas."—*Chron. Trudonen.*, book i., in D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii.

[5] He died in 1055.

of the ducal family of Ravenna,[1] was accustomed, while he governed the abbey of Classe and the hermitages of Pereo, to enforce the observation of the common rule on monks of the noblest birth as well as on those of the most illustrious piety. But contemporaries who had seen, shortly before, these seigneurs surrounded by all the aristocratic luxury of the time, dressed in rich embroideries of silk and gold, and commanding their numerous vassals, wondered to find the same men clothed, of their own free will, in a simple frock as their only garment, with bare feet, spending their days in a wretched cell, where they occupied themselves in making cooking-utensils or fishing-nets.[2] Among such monks, one of the most distinguished by his humility and fervour was the young Boniface, cousin of the Emperor Otho III., who trained himself in this school to become the successor of St. Adalbert as an apostle and martyr.[3]

When some special circumstance occurred which obliged one of these *wolves changed to lambs* to leave his retreat, he invariably showed himself faithful. Count Frederic, son of the Duke of Lorraine, had become a monk at St. Vannes, at Verdun, after having been one of the most famous soldiers of his time.[4] One day he had to accompany his abbot, the holy and celebrated Richard of St. Vannes,[5] to an assembly held by the Emperor Henry II. In his quality of cousin to the Emperor, Frederic was conducted to the dais

[1] "Ravennæ civitatis oriundus, illustrissima ducum fuit stirpe progenitus."—S. PETR. DAM., c. 3.

[2] "Regebat itaque monachos sub districta regulæ disciplina . . . non denique nobilis, non litteris eruditus per actus in dextram lævamque partem deflectere audebat. . . . Quis non obstupesceret . . . cum vidisset prius homines sericis, immo deauratis vestibus indutos, crebris obsequentium cuneis constipatos, omnium deliciarum affluentiis assuetos, nunc cerneret uno birro contentos, inclusos, discalceatos. . . . Faciebant omnes opera manuum, alii scilicet cochlearia, alii nebant, alii retia nectebant, alii cilicia."—S. PETR. DAMIANA, in *Vit. S. Romuald.*, c. 33 and 41.

[3] *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii. p. 260.

[4] "Hosti terribilis."—HUG. FLAVINIAC., *Chron. Virdun.*, ap. LABBE, *Bibl. Nov. MSS.*. vol. i. p. 164.

[5] *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii. p. 472.

where sat the princes and chief nobles of the empire, while his abbot remained in the crowd of ecclesiastics.[1] Frederic at first submitted; but, unable to endure an appearance of superiority, however temporary, over him whom he had adopted as his father, he took the footstool placed for his feet, and going down from the dais, seated himself below his abbot. The pious emperor, touched by so much humility, desired that both should be placed near himself, but that the abbot should have the place of honour.[2]

Having returned to his monastery, Frederic resumed his humble habits. His brother Duke Godfrey coming to see him one day when he was washing dishes in the kitchen, exclaimed, "Well, this is a fine occupation for a count!" Frederic answered nothing, because silence was commanded in the kitchen, but when he had followed the duke into a place where he could speak, he said, "You are right, duke; the work I was doing just now does not suit such a person as I am—it is, in fact, much above my birth, for the master whom I serve is so great, that I ought to think myself much honoured in being employed in the smallest office in a house where the blessed apostle St. Peter and the glorious confessor St. Vannes have their residence."[3]

When the rich and powerful of this world who desired thus to unite themselves to God by the sacrifice of their whole existence were married, as in the case of Heribrand of Afflighem and his sons, it was necessary to obtain the con-

[1] "Inter primos eminentiorique loco sederet, ut regis et principum consanguineos . . . dum abbas . . . longe inferius sederet."—*Chron. Hug. Flavin., Act. SS. O. B., die 14 jun.*, p. 980, and LABBE, *Bibl. Nov. MSS.*, vol. ii. p. 164.

[2] "Regalis magnificencia, humilitatem nobilitatis illius amplexata . . . cum eum ad se invitasset, et ille a pedibus patris avelli nollet, rex altiori ingenio . . . abbatem ad se evocatum e latere suo sedere fecit, atque post eum domni Frederici sedem sisti præcepit."—*Chron. Hug. Flavin., ibid.*

[3] "Optime prosecutus es, o dux, quia tanta est dignitas hujus officii, et tantus est cui impenditur, B. scilicet Petrus apostolus, et sanctus confessor Vitonus, quod nec meæ congruit parvitati, ut præsumem ad hoc eis exhibendum quasi pro nobilitate generis mei."—*Ibid.*, p. 981.

sent of the wives, who very often followed the example of their husbands.[1] The history of one of these mutual vocations has been related with many interesting details by the son of the husband and wife who thus dedicated themselves.[2]

There was at Tournay, towards the close of the eleventh century, a knight named Raoul d'Osmond, of the highest birth and most unstained reputation.[3] This knight, being extremely ill, received the last sacrament with great contrition; but on his unhoped-for recovery, fell back into the faults which the fear of death had taught him to regard as perilous. Uneasy about the state of his soul,[4] he went to St. Amand to ask advice from a monk there, who was his wife's brother. The monk having questioned him, declared that he could only secure his salvation by embracing a monastic life, and exhorted him to ask his wife's consent that he should do so; but that if she refused, he should nevertheless betake himself to solitude to serve God—"for," the holy man added, "I will never counsel you to lose your soul out of love for my sister."[5]

On his return home, after this conversation, Raoul sat

[1] A very curious example, quoted by M. Guerard in his excellent prolegomena to the *Chartulary of St. Père de Chartres*, p. ccij, would lead us to suppose that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the wife whose husband entered a cloister was considered a widow, and had the right to marry again. But many new proofs would be required to establish this conclusion. What is certain is, that wives thus left in a kind of widowhood (*itaque ab eo viduata*, says another deed quoted by M. Guerard, *ibid.*, p. 222) did not always take the veil, as the discipline of the Church required, and that husbands did not always wait for the consent of the wives before embracing the religious life.

[2] HERMANN, abbot of St. Martin at Tournay, in his valuable little work, entitled *Narratio restaurationis abbatiæ S. Martini Tornacensis*, ap. D'ACHERY, *Spicilegium*, vol. ii. p. 898, in-fol.

[3] "Nulli civium inferior."—*Ibid.*, p. 892.

[4] "De salute animæ suæ consulere cœpit. . . . Hoc mihi non videtur vera esse confessio, quando infirmor, peccata confiteri, quando convalesco, peccatis iterum sordidari."—*Ibid.*, p. 907.

[5] "Nunquam consulo vobis ut pro sorore mea animam vestram perdatis . . . quam (licentiam) si noluerit dare, consulo ut ea relicta parteque substantiæ vestræ ei dimissa, ad Deum fugiatis."—HERMANN, ap. D'ACHERY, *Ibid.*

down upon his bed and began to weep bitterly.[1] His wife, whose name was Mainsende,[2] and who was only twenty-four years of age, seeing him in such distress, asked what troubled him. Osmond at first endeavoured to conceal it from her, but she insisted; and having heard what had passed, told Raoul to console himself, for that she also wished to provide for the safety of her soul in the same manner and at the same time as he for his. "I have the same fears for myself," she said, "as you have for yourself."[3] Raoul, delighted at this confession, proposed to his wife that they should both retire from the world the very next day; but Mainsende told him that she was looking forward to the birth of her fourth child.[4] They waited, therefore, until a son was born; and after this, Raoul resolved to join the Abbot Odo, who was then occupied in restoring with the utmost sternness the ancient Abbey of St. Martin at Tournay. In presence of many ecclesiastics and a great crowd of people, the knight took the hand of his young wife, and raising his eyes to heaven, spoke thus: "Lord, Thou gavest me this wife, and I take Thee to witness that I have kept, until this day, the faith which I owed her: now, for love of Thee, I forsake her, and commend her to Thy care."[5] He then took his children

[1] "Lectulo residens amarissime flere incipit."

[2] "De militibus provinciæ progenitam." She was the daughter of Hermann, provost of St. Amand.

[3] "Vult ille celare, sed illa nimis instante. . . . Et quare propter hæc sic vos cruciatis. . . . Propter me bene agere non dimittatis, quia sicut vos de anima vestra timetis, sic ego de mea."

[4] "Exhilaratus super his verbis Radulfus. . . . Quiddam secreti necdum dixeram vobis, quoniam jam menses duo sunt ex quo me concepisse sensi, et utique rationabile non esset, ut prægnans de sæculo exirem. . . . Sed continenter de hinc vivamus. Post hæc sicut multoties mihi retulerunt, anno integro et dimidio in vita sæculari manserunt, in uno lecto indivisi jacuerunt, nec tamen aliquid carnale gesserunt, non sua fortitudine, sed Christi gratia eos protegente."—HERMANN, ap. D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 907, in-fol.

[5] "Domine Deus, ut mihi dedisti hanc conjugem . . . nunc autem pro amore tuo eam relinquo, tibique eam commendo."

in his arms, and lifted them up towards heaven, as offering them also to God; for his wife had said to him, "Do not let us leave our little ones to the devil, but let us present them with ourselves to God."[1] Osmond joined the monks of St. Martin. The Abbot Odo, admiring the zeal of so wealthy a man, said to his monks, "We monks think ourselves good for something, and see how we are outdone by this layman, this publican, this Zaccheus!"[2] Odo would not, however, admit him at once, but, to try his vocation, ordered him to go, and, for a whole year, earn his bread by the work of his hands in carrying water, cutting wood, and cleaning stables. The good knight submitted without the least shame to work so completely new to his habits.[3]

Mainsende, far from being discouraged by this harshness, offered herself, on her side, to the new church of St. Martin, which she endowed with her whole fortune.[4] Those present shed tears when she laid upon the altar the cradle that

[1] "Non in manu diaboli relinquamus, sed potius nobiscum Deo præsentemus, divites enim sumus, et quocunque voluerimus libenter cum eis suscipiemur." These last words show that there already existed a custom which afterwards degenerated into an abuse—that of demanding a dowry with those who presented themselves for the novitiate.

[2] "Ecce nos monachi aliquid . . . fecisse putabamus, et tamen a seculari Zachæo publicano victi sumus."—HERMANN, ap. D'ACHERY *Spicileg.*, vol. ii.

[3] "Vade et publice coram populo victum tuum laborando quære, aquam ad tabernas portando."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Mainsendis nullo timore terretur . . . super altare ducentas argenti marcas ponit."—*Ibid.* To give an idea of what the property of a *very rich* knight at this period might be, we will describe here, from the Abbot Hermann, what constituted the fortune which this husband and wife gave up entirely to the Abbey of St. Martin—a great hotel, built of stone at Tournay (*domum lapideam non parvæ amplitudinis*), four mills on the Ries, a fifth on the Scheldt, and two others *super Costenten;* the surrounding lands, with a farmhouse; a stud (*gregem equorum*), which was very profitable (*equos magni pretii nutrivimus et vendidimus*)—the whole valued at about 1000 livres. Besides all this, a sum of money, with which the abbey, which had not hitherto possessed *passum quidem terræ arabilis*, might buy the lands which surrounded the church, and some others also.

contained her new-born child.[1] The abbot imposed upon her the same kind of trial as that of her husband; she was to earn her living in the town by weaving, spinning, and carding wool, and have no food but the crusts which she begged here and there.[2] The ladies of Tournay pitied her, and sent provisions to her by their maids. But she refused them, and fulfilled the task allotted to her not merely without repugnance, but with joy. Being soon judged worthy to enter the new monastery which the great number of conversions had forced the abbot to set up in the house formerly belonging to Raoul, she had the happiness of living for forty years, humble and almost forgotten, in the very mansion of which she had once been mistress.[3] Such was the conversion of the knight Raoul d'Osmond and of his wife; "and I do not believe," says their son, who has left us this narrative, "that the good Lord can ever forget it."[4]

Many rich and high-born knights, with their wives and children, followed Raoul's example;[5] more than sixty noble ladies hastened to enter as converts the Hôtel d'Osmond, now become a nunnery.

We must remark, in concluding our study of the Catholic nobility of the eleventh century, that these conversions, these devotions, these acts of generous humility, were by no means individual or exceptional. We should be less astonished to see from time to time, in certain privileged

[1] "Minimumque cum cuna super altare ponit, non sine lacrymis multorum circumstantium."—HERMANN, ap. D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii.

[2] "Vade per urbem, et victum quære . . . lanam pexendo, et si forte tibi aliquis integrum panem dare voluerit, non suscipias, sed frusta panis more pauperum conscissa."—*Ibid.*

[3] "Exultat femina talibus pasci deliciis, pulsoque rubore, publice eleemosynas petit, matronis quæ hæc videbant flentibus, et per pedissequas, &c. . . . Exultabat quod in domo cujus quondam domina fuerat, nunc pro Deo tribulationem sustinebat."—*Ibid.*, pp. 903, 910, 921.

[4] "Cujus non credo pium Jesum posse oblivisci."—*Ibid.*, p. 908.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 909, 910.—See the curious trials to which Abbot Odo subjected his neophytes.

places, some few men of the highest type, some exceptional Christians, offering so sublime a spectacle to the world; but it was, on the contrary, by large companies, in all countries, and during all the centuries properly called feudal, that the aristocracy thus peopled with its most illustrious offspring the monasteries which it had founded. The fact is specially easy of proof in Germany, where pride of blood was always so powerful. "At Reichenau the greatest nobles disputed the honour of putting on the Benedictine cowl;[1] at Einsiedlen the monks beheld their solitude transformed into a sort of seminary for young nobles, dukes, princes, and barons;[2] at Hirschau, at Schaffhausen, at St. Blaise, in the greatest monasteries of Germany, especially in the eleventh century, there was such a gathering of *converts* of noble race that everywhere it became necessary to enlarge the different monastic buildings in order to lodge them. Once admitted, they always sought the meanest tasks; the more illustrious was their birth, the lowlier were the services they wished to render to the community. "So that in the monasteries," says the historian Bernold, "one saw counts cooking in the kitchen, and margraves leading the pigs out to feed."[3]

[1] "Ingens ad Augiense monasterium cum propter florentissima illic studia, tum religionis monachicæ desiderio concursus, ita ut illustrissimorum Germaniæ magnatum liberi certatim cucullum exambirent, potentissimi religiosissimique pontifices infulas adjicerent, ultimi monachorum esse expeterent."—BUCELIN, *Constant. Rhenana*, ad ann. 807.

[2] "Huc quoque se receperunt plures primæ nobilitatis totius Germaniæ superioris viri, adeo ut principum, ducum, comitum et baronum natu minorum veluti seminarium quoddam fuerit Eremus."—D. CALMET, *Diarium Helvet. Einsiedlen* in German means *solitude, hermitage.*

[3] "Ad quæ monasteria mirabilis multitudo nobilium et prudentium virorum hac tempestate in brevi confugit, et depositis armis, &c. . . . tanto in quam numero, ut ipsa monasteriorum ædificia necessario ampliarint, eo quod non aliter in eis locum commanendi haberent. . . . Quanto nobiliores erant in seculo, tanto se contemptibilioribus officiis occupari desiderant: ut qui quondam erant comites et marchiones in seculo, nunc in coquina et pistrino fratribus servire, et porcos eorum in campo pascere, pro summis computent deliciis. Ibi nempe et porcarii et bubulci, præter habitum, iidem sunt qui monachi."—BERNOLD., *Chron.*, ad ann. 1083, ap. PERTZ, v. 439.

The feudal aristocracy, then, still offered, in the eleventh century, the marvellous spectacle which, 700 years before, had excited the triumphant admiration of St. John Chrysostom, when he showed, with legitimate pride, to the rich and learned Byzantines, the descendants of the most noble houses clad in the dresses of servants or peasants, lodging under thatched roofs, sleeping on hard beds, occupied in planting, in watering, in carrying water, in fulfilling, as monks, the duties of the poorest labourers.[1]

The feudal system, so much calumniated, thus ennobled labour while sanctifying it, and justified beforehand the words of a distinguished writer of our own days—"In an aristocracy it is not exactly *work* which is depised, but work done for gain. Work is glorious when undertaken at the call of ambition or of simple virtue."[2]

It was then, we repeat, not only their property, their money, their castles, their estates, which these Christian nobles gave to God; it was also, and above all, their persons and their lives. On the stone of monastic altars they sacrificed not only love of wealth, but their habits of life, the distinctions of their rank, their delicacy, their luxury, their pride, supreme and unconquerable passion! It was not for the common people, for the poor, for vassals and inferiors, that these knights, lords, and princes of royal blood under the feudal system, founded and endowed monasteries. Nor was it that they might live as mere spectators of the virtues and austerities of others. No: it was that they themselves

[1] We have already spoken of the complaint which St. John Chrysostom puts into the mouth of a father who is lamenting that his son has become a monk. See the treatise called *Adversus Oppugnatores Vitæ Monasticæ*, lib. ii. vol. i., ed. Gaume: "Περιβαλέσθαι ἱμάτιον ἀδρόν . . . πρὸς τὸν δρον φεύγειν, καὶ φυτεύειν ἐκεῖ καὶ ἄρδειν καὶ ὑδροφορεῖν, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα δὴ πάντα τὰ τῶν μοναχῶν ποιεῖν, τὰ δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ εὐτελῆ καὶ ἐπονείδιστα· ἔστω δὲ καὶ ἀνυπόδετος, καὶ χαμαὶ καθευδέτω (p. 72). . . . Ὅταν τῶν εὐτελεστέρων ἀγροίκων ἐκείνων ἀτιμότερον αὐτὸν ἡμφιεσμένον ἴδω (p. 73). . . . Ὅταν ἀπὸ λαμπροῦ μὲν ὁρμώμενον γένους, λαμπρὰς δὲ οὐσίας, τοσούτων δε ἐλπίδων, πρὸς ἐκείνην ἴδωσιν ἐλθόντα τὴν ἀρετήν" (p. 86).

[2] TOCQUEVILLE, *de la Démocratie en Amérique*, vol. iii. c. 18.

might renounce all the seductions of a pomp and greatness of which modern society cannot offer even a shadow, since she has not left standing a single greatness which is worth sacrificing; it was to exchange wealth and power for the stern joys of labour, mortification, and solitude—to substitute for their wild and warlike mood the gentle humility of the cloister. What they wished, and what they obtained, was to till, among the humblest and most obscure Christians, the field of penitence; to gather there, as elsewhere, the first-fruits of courage, devotion, and honour; to form the van in the war against sin and against the oppressors of the Church; and to give the first and deepest wounds to the enemies of God and of men's souls.

CHAPTER III

SERVICES RENDERED BY THE MONKS TO SOCIETY.—THEIR SHARE IN THE POLITICAL CONSTITUTION OF STATES.

Temporal utility of religious orders in maintaining the unity of Christendom.—The monks keep in memory their humblest as well as their most powerful benefactors.—The rolls of the dead.—Monks were able to resist abuses and injustice.—They repressed the violence of the nobles.—They strongly defended the rights of the poor.—The people had full confidence in them.—They exercised a great influence on the laws.—Conduct of monks in the English Parliament.

IN the preceding chapters we have shown the powerful and fruitful influence of the monastic spirit over an important part of that feudal nobility which ruled Europe in the middle ages. We must now pass quickly in review the service done by the sons of St. Benedict in various branches of social life until the end of the eleventh century, and this will assist us to complete our description and explanation of the impulse communicated by the monks to a profoundly Catholic society. The chief source of their influence lay in the deep respect naturally felt by the believing and enthusiastic minds of that epoch for the faithful observance of Gospel precepts, the constant practice of Gospel commands, and, yet more, those miracles of stern penance and of holy energy which accompanied the foundation of all the principal monasteries. But it must be remembered that they had also titles of another kind not less direct nor less positive, but more human, to the confidence and affection of Christian people, through the manner in which they supplied

some of the most legitimate needs of the world.[1] This was, in all times, one of the great glories of the monastic orders. Founded exclusively for a spiritual purpose, and having nothing for their object but individual sanctification, they nevertheless contributed everywhere and always to the general prosperity, to the greatness and force of lay society. Never were the words of Christ, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you," more admirably verified. And, thanks to this divine promise, the historian of the monastic orders may fearlessly challenge his rivals to show any class of men whatever, who at any time have rendered to temporal society and the earthly well-being of humanity, services comparable in number and importance to those which the world owes to monks.

It was they who, more than any other, after the Papacy itself, served to tighten the bonds of unity between the different nations constituting that great body entitled, with such eloquent correctness, "Christendom." Every man who has given any care to the study of manners and events in the middle ages is astonished at the identity of ideas, institutions, and customs which then reigned throughout the public and private life of different nations. Except in rare circumstances, and among people of exceptional manners, the most generous hospitality rendered journeys much more frequent and easy than we are now apt to imagine. To describe it truly, Christian Europe formed but one state, or rather one association—under separate masters, indeed, but subjected to laws and usages almost identical, by which no Christian was regarded as quite a foreigner. This order

[1] From the depths of the Thebaid St. Euphrasia begged the Emperor Theodosius to enfranchise, and, in case of their embracing a religious life, to dower, all the slaves who cultivated her father's immense estates: "Omnes constitutos sub jugo servitutis manumitte, et eis legitima concede. Manda actoribus patris mei ut omne debitum dimittant agricolis, quod a die patris mei usque ad hanc diem reddebant."—*Vit. S. Euphrosynæ*, c. 13, ap. Rosweyd, p. 354.

of things, which had the Catholic faith for its source, the Church of Rome for its rule, and the Crusades for its results, was entirely changed in later days by the encroachments of legislation, and finally destroyed by the Renaissance and the Reformation; but it existed in full vigour from the ninth to the thirteenth century, and monks were its principal instruments. They it was who taught the races under their influence a more liberal sentiment than that of narrow nationality, and discouraged that pagan patriotism, revived in our own days, which consists in looking upon every foreigner as an object of suspicion or hostility. An abbot of the ninth century could say, with good reason, to a travelling monk, that wherever he should find the Christian religion, there he would find his country.[1] Monasteries were, in fact, peopled by monks from all countries, and all countries alike received the lessons and benefits of the sons of St. Benedict.[2] As permanent missionaries, they had, so to speak, no household fires but those which burned on the altars of truth and duty. No jealous police asked the monk whence he came or whither he went when the command of his superior took him from Ireland to Calabria,[3] from Hungary to Spain,[4] or from Picardy to Denmark,[5] carrying with him light and virtue. No pagan legislation restrained the generous courage of strangers who wished to enrich a neighbourhood by their devotion and their labours. And just as the great abbeys sent their children abroad without distinction of country, so the munificence of princes and nobles did not hesitate to extend itself over other lands than their own, when they had sufficiently provided for the wants of those religious establishments which had a direct title to their care. In this manner Alfred, not content with

[1] "Docet enim ut ubicumque religionem suam, hoc est christianam, invenerit, suam quoque patriam recognoscat."—B. LUPI FERRARIENSIS, *Epist.*, n. 106, ed. Baluzii.

[2] Thus St. Remi of Rheims collected considerable dues in the dioceses of Mayence and Liège.—See GUERARD, *Polyptique de St. Remi*, p. xxvii.

[3] St. Cataldo. [4] St. Martin de Dumes. [5] St. Anschaire.

numerous donations to English monasteries, extended his bounty to various abbeys of France, Brittany, and Ireland: thus Athelstane, another Anglo-Saxon king, sent a considerable sum to St. Gall, in Switzerland;[1] and Edward the Confessor gave lands in Oxfordshire to St. Denis, in France;[2] and German bishops and princes endowed in their own towns establishments which were specially reserved for monks from Scotland and Ireland.[3] We will not speak of the generosity of the German emperors towards Monte Cassino, for this might have had for its object the strengthening of their pretensions to the sovereignty of Italy; but when Castilian kings loaded with presents the French abbey of Cluny, it is evident that they simply yielded to a desire to give in this manner a proof of their affectionate admiration for a religious institution which they regarded, with reason, as a power and glory common to all Christendom.

In return, the monasteries opened their doors to all travellers and all strangers, whatever might be their origin or their destination. Abbeys were the principal inns of the time. Pilgrimages, especially those to Rome, to St. Michael of Monte Gargano, to St. James of Compostello, and to the Holy Land, which then drew so many believers from their homes, brought every day to the monastic doors Christians from all lands and of all ranks. The situation of abbeys generally determined the route taken by pilgrims. By assuring to these indefatigable travellers a peaceful shelter and a brotherly welcome, by bringing together and bringing into sympathy men whom faith and repentance had drawn from their distant dwellings, these monastic caravansaries

[1] In 929. [2] DIGBY, *Mores Catholici*, vol. x. p. 650.

[3] These monasteries bore the name of *monasteria Scotorum*; there were such at Metz, Verdun, Würzburg, Ratisbon, Erfurt, Cologne, Vienna, and elsewhere. That of Ratisbon still stands, preserved by the express will of King Louis of Bavaria, and inhabited by a small number of Scottish Benedictines. When we visited it in 1834 there were four monks and two pupils.

became, even without such intention on the part of their inhabitants, very important intermediary points for the intercourse of nation with nation.[1]

This wide-reaching link of unity which we have just remarked was much facilitated by the relations of the princes and nobles of various countries to the foreign monasteries which they enriched by their bounty, as well as by associations formed among themselves by abbeys belonging to different provinces or kingdoms. These two customs date from the beginning of the Benedictine order. In the eleventh century, especially, the ramifications of new orders and special congregations spread the empire of a powerful confraternity over all the kingdoms of Christendom. Cluny and Monte Cassino were, like Rome, centres to which all tended, and whence the spirit of charity and devotion shone out to the very extremities of Europe. The obituaries of the principal monasteries bear witness in the most touching manner to that union of hearts and community of prayers which drew together the most dissimilar races, and enriched the Christian mind with the most precious treasures. At the Abbey of the Grande-Sauve, for instance, the monks of Aquitaine celebrated yearly, by solemn services and extraordinary alms, the memory of monks or canons affiliated to their association at Valenciennes, at Saragossa, at Burgos, at Rome, at Pavia, at Corbie, at Aurillac, at Orleans, at Monte Cassino, at Laon, at Meaux, at Anchin, even at Lincoln and Bardeney in England.[2]

These obituaries also prove the holy and admirable equality

[1] See *L'Histoire de la Grande-Sauve*, by M. l'Abbé CIROT, vol. i. p. 504, for the curious description of the *Voie de pèlerinage de l'abbaye de la Grande-Sauve à St. Jacques de Compostelle*, with an indication of all the halts in different churches and monasteries which served as stations at almost every day's march. The learned historian remarks judiciously that the search for ancient pilgrim-roads is at least as interesting as that for Roman roads; and he has given himself up to this search with equal erudition and sagacity.

[2] See *L'Extrait du nécrologie de l'abbaye de la Grande-Sauve*, ap. CIROT, *Histoire de la Grande-Sauve*, vol. i. p. 500.

before God established by the monks among their friends and benefactors of all nations and all conditions. Opening, at hazard, that of the great Abbey of St. Germain des Prés, which contains the table of *obits* or notices of the monks and benefactors of the house from Pepin le Bref to Louis le Gros, we find on one single page, the following entries: "Clement, layman, our friend. . . . Mamburge, our friend. . . . Drogon, knight, our associate. . . . Louis, King of the French. . . . Richard Third, Duke of the Normans. . . . Adelaide, a woman. . . . Francis, a bishop. . . . Constance, queen. . . . Chrollinde and Bertrude, daughters of counts. . . . Philip, King of the French. . . . Louis, Emperor of the Romans. . . . Obolerius, knight of Dreux;" and further on—"Odo, layman, our servant. . . . Charles II., emperor, friend of churches."[1]

Another custom, incontestably ancient,[2] witnesses also to the unity of faith and the spirit of charity which attracted towards each other Christians of different races and nations. Whenever a monk died, notice was sent to the associated churches and convents so as to obtain prayers for the dead. These notices, written at the top of a long band of parchment wrapped round a cylinder, bore the name of "Rolls of the Dead." Generally the formula was very simple;[3] but in case of the death of some celebrated man or some illustrious personage, the most eloquent monk in the community took pen in hand to celebrate the virtues of the defunct. This encyclical letter was then confided to a courier or

[1] "Clemens laicus, noster amicus . . . Mamburgis nostra amica. . . . Drogo miles nostræ congregationis. . . . Adelaidis femina. Constancia regina. . . . Odo laicus, famulus noster. . . . Depositio Caroli quoque secundi imperatoris, ecclesiarum amatoris."—*Nécrologe Ancien*, months of July and August, apud DOM BOUILLART, *Histoire de St. Germain des Prés*, pièces justificat., p. cxiv.

[2] See the learned work of M. Leopold Delisle on the rolls of the dead in the *Bibl. de l'École des chartes*, vol. iii. 2nd series, p. 371 *et seq.*

[3] "Such a one, a child of our congregation, is dead. We conjure all the faithful engaged in the religious life to intercede for him with God."—See D. MARTÈNE, *De Ritibus*, vol. iv. col. 794.

rotulifer,[1] who went with it from church to church, from abbey to abbey, carrying the mournful message hung at his neck.[2] On seeing him, the monks ran to meet him with anxious questions, "Where do you come from? What new misfortune have you to tell us of?"[3] After having answered these inquiries, the messenger unrolled the fatal missive, and as soon as the abbot or prior had read it, the bell tolled to call the monks to church, that they might pray together for the soul of the dead.

The monks thus became the countrymen and brethren of all Christians; thanks to their gentle and incessant influence, charity and faith could henceforth bring about

[1] "*Rotuliger, rotulifer, brevifer, tomifer, rotularius*," &c. The roll-bearer was to be entertained wherever he presented himself: "*Cursorem . . . reficite lassum, operite nudum, et itineris ei quantulumcumque addite supplementum.*" He was even furnished with money; at St. Germain des Prés, for example, he received four deniers, and the lay clerk was to attend to all his wants: "*Cantor debet rolligero ministrare.*"—*Hist. de St. Germain des Prés*, pièces justificatives, clxx., and L. Delisle, *loc cit.*, pp. 370–373.

[2] "Inde cutis colli teritur præ pondere rolli.
Rolligeri collum nequit ultra tollere rollum."
—Rot. de S. Brunone, No. 173.

[3] "Tomiferum fratres ut conspiciunt venientem:
Qui vestros apices fert nimium lugubres,
Unde domo quærunt, vel qui gerus, unde Rotulus
Unde vel errantes proferat unde pedes."

—Ex rotul. Gauzberti, ap. D. MARTÈNE, *Hist. de Marm.*, vol. i. No. 45.

The frequent presence of these roll-bearers in certain countries spread great melancholy there. Thus, one of the most original poets of his time, Baudry de Bourgueil, at an epoch when faith was beginning to be weakened, laments the continual sight of the birds of ill omen:—

"Obsecro jam parcat tam sæpe venire veredus;
Per nimios usus nimium sua verba veremur.
Vivant prælati pro quorum morte vagatur
Vultur edax, corvusque niger, volitansque veredus,
Necnon bubo canens dirum mortalibus omen,
Significant mortem, præsaganturque cadaver.
Sic rotulus semper mortem cujuslibet affert.
Ergo sit a nostris penitus conventibus exsul,
Nam si sæpe venit, nummi mercede carebit."
—DUCHESN., *Script. Franc.*, vol. iv. p. 253.

among men the only equality which does not imply confusion and the destruction of every social hierarchy; they were able to realise, for a time, that brotherhood of nations which men have since sought, but in vain, to found upon industrial greed and the love of gain.

But the Monastic Orders exercised a yet more evident and more fruitful action upon the principles and rules of political constitutions in the kingdoms of Christendom. Sharing with kings and nobles in all the important acts of national life,[1] the abbots of the principal monasteries had seats in the Diets of Germany and Hungary, in the Cortes of Spain, in the Parliaments of England and Sicily, and in all the public assemblies of France and Italy. Hither they brought that knowledge, that order, that practical wisdom which all, willing or unwilling, must acknowledge to have belonged to the chiefs elected by the religious orders.

Many of those thus elected had, before their conversion, filled the most important positions in armies or in the world, and the people felt that nowhere could kings find more disinterested advisers, nor nations worthier or more independent representatives.

The regular monasteries everywhere offered models of good government; in them authority was scrupulously respected, but at the same time it was tempered with prudence. The three constituent elements of a good political organisation were represented there by the absolute obedience of the community to the orders of the abbot, and the obligatory intervention of the chapters and the council of deans; by the election of superiors, reserved to the elders; and by the free suffrage granted to all in the disposition of monastic property.

Beside their great experience of men and affairs, the monks brought to the councils of kings and nations a courage which did not recoil before any danger. Nowhere

[1] Twenty-nine Benedictine abbots were summoned to the consecration of Philip, son of Henry I. of France, in 1059.

did the fatal tendency of men to abuse the power intrusted to them by God meet with so effectual a restraint as from the sons and brothers of St. Dunstan, of St. Gerard of Hungary, of St. Dominic of Silos, and of the many other monks who remained immovable in presence of tyrannical princes. The right of resisting unjust power, which formed the basis of all political constitutions in the middle ages, found inexhaustible nourishment and unfailing support in the monastic spirit.

We are often asked, What is the disposition upon which every guarantee of order, of security, and of independence, invented by political wisdom, is founded? what is the virtue without which all these guarantees are ridiculous? It is, undoubtedly, that moral energy which inspires men with the ability and the desire to oppose themselves to injustice, to protest against the abuse of power, even when this injustice and this abuse do not directly affect themselves. Now this moral energy was inherent in the character and profession of the monks. We have seen a hundred examples of it in the preceding pages; we shall find a hundred others in every volume of monastic annals till the time of the ruin of monastic independence and the triumph of the Commendam by the concordat of Leo X. At the distance of a thousand years from each other, the same calm and invincible courage appears in the reprimand addressed by St. Benedict to King Totila,[1] and in the answer of the obscure prior of Solesmes to the Seigneur of Sablé, against whom he had been compelled to maintain the privileges of his convent. This Seigneur of Sablé one day meeting the prior on the bridge of the town, said to him, "Monk, if I did not fear God, I should throw you into the Sarthe." "My lord," replied the monk, "if you fear God I have nothing to fear."[2] Scarcely did a village begin to rise in

[1] S. Gregorii Magni, *Vit. S. Patr. Bened.*, c. 15.

[2] *MS. de la Bibl. royale*, quoted in *l'Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Solesmes*, 1846, p. 46. This prior's name was Jean Bougler; he was elected

the neighbourhood of a monastery, before freemen, too weak to resist the attacks of Frankish feudatories, came to shelter themselves under the revered patronage of the monks. Commerce implored their aid against the greed of the inferior nobles, industry against the vexations of taxation, the feeblest class against the oppression of the strong and violent. Over these various kinds of men the monks extended that unlimited protection which was secured to themselves by royal charter and the respect of nations; they had a heartfelt desire to share with their vassals the freedom bestowed upon themselves by Dagobert and his successors.

In the middle ages the abbots of great monasteries generally made themselves remarkable for an intrepid zeal, not only in defending the rights and privileges of their order, but also in punishing all kinds of oppression. Nearly all deserved the eulogy pronounced on Abbot Godehart, afterwards raised to the bishopric of Hildesheim, of whom it was said that kings and princes feared as much as they honoured him.[1]

To recall oppressors to their duty, the monks knew how, at need, to use the sternest language, being convinced, as is said by the historian of the venerable Abbot Peter of Pérouse, that it is needful not only to touch, but to *sting*, the guilty; following the saying of Solomon, where it is written, "The words of the wise should pierce the heart like goads, or like nails driven into a wall."[2] Born, as we have seen, for the most part among the feudal nobility,

in 1515, and ornamented his church with some remarkable sculptures, that are still to be admired.

[1] "Fuit ergo regibus et primoribus, et formidini et honori."—*Vit. S. Godehardi auct.*, WOLFERO, *ej. æqual.* in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii. p. 362.

[2] "Potentum non formidavit aliquando personas delinquentes, sed asperis objurgationibus, devios monendo ad gremium quos poterat sanctæ revocabat Ecclesiæ; non ignorans delinquentes, non tantum palpandos, sed etiam pungendos esse ut resipiscant, Salomone dicente: *Verba sapientum quasi stimuli, et quasi clavi defixi in altum.*"—*Act. SS. O. B.*, Append., vol. viii. p. 647.

they none the less braved the passions and interests of that nobility whenever it was needful for the maintenance of the rights of the poor or those of the Church.

We may quote, on this point, a story of Enguerrand, Abbot of St. Riquier in the eleventh century,[1] who, says his biographer, eager for justice, feared no earthly power.[2] It was the custom at that time for all the gentlemen of Ponthieu to meet yearly to celebrate the festival of the blessed Riquier, and to honour him whom they regarded as their suzerain and heavenly patron.[3] Now the Count of Ponthieu, lord of the province, was so much afraid of the abbot's just severity,[4] that he did not dare either to visit him or to omit the duty of presenting himself before him at the head of his knights. Enguerrand, on the contrary, sought an opportunity to reproach the count openly for his crimes against God and against the poor,—and did it with such harshness, says the hagiographer, that one would have supposed him a master speaking to his servant, rather than a monk speaking to a count.[5]

The monks, however, did not restrict themselves to reprimanding great criminals or denouncing flagrant misdeeds; the least violation of the laws of eternal justice, the smallest attack on the rights of the poor, was sufficient reason for them to intervene, to protect, to expose themselves to a thousand annoyances, and sometimes to a thousand dangers, by threatening the oppressors with the wrath of Heaven.

[1] Died in 1046.

[2] "Ille justitiæ famelicus . . . constantia quippe internæ fortitudinis, quæ menti ejus inerat, multam potentiam superbium edomabat: quia fiducia sanctitatis se vallante nullius potentiam verebatur."—*Chron. Centul.*, lib. iv. c. 6 and 8, in D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii.

[3] "Antiquitus servata est consuetudo, ut in festo S. Richarii tota Pontivorum militia Centulam veniret, et veluti patriæ Domino, ac suæ salutis tutori et advocato, solemnem curiam faciebant."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Magno timore erga illum agebatur, quippe apud quem humani ingenii pravitati nihil successum sciebat."—*Ibid.*

[5] "Ut miro modo non comitem a monacho, sed servum a domino increpari putares."—*Ibid.*

Thus, Ysarn, Abbot of St. Victor, at Marseilles, employed by turns gentleness and severity towards a robber-lord of the environs of Castellane, in getting back from him the pigs and sheep which he had stolen from the neighbouring peasants,[1] and in obliging him to expiate his robberies by becoming a monk. Thus Amico, a holy monk of Monte Cassino, being appealed to by a poor labourer, whose only ox had been taken from him by a neighbouring knight, did not hesitate to leave his cell for the purpose of converting the robber. After having in vain exhausted all the resources of persuasion, Amico told the thief that he would die by violence, which, in fact, came true the very same day—the knight was killed in an affray, and the ox restored to the peasant by the dead man's relations.[2] In the same way, St. Romuald, having retired to an abbey in the Pyrenees, found himself obliged to interfere in a case where a proud and wealthy count had carried off the cow of a poor labourer. The count remained inflexible, declaring that he would eat that very day at dinner a steak from his vassal's fat cow; but he died, choked by the first mouthful he tried to swallow.[3]

[1] "Adalardus quidam erat sæcularis pompæ, ferus homo nimis et pessimus . . . porcos videlicet, arietes, cæteraque id genus suis usibus commoda . . . abripiens."—*Vit. S. Ysarni, auct. Anonym. æqual.*, c. 14, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii., ad ann. 1048.

[2] "Quidam rustico rapuit solum quem possidebat bovem. . . . Erat siquidem vir Dei afflictis valde compatiens et super oppressos pia gestans viscera. . . . Cœpit eum rogare ut bovem suum sibi redderet. . . . Scito, homo miserrime, repentinam tibi imminere mortem, quoniam non es veritus omnes ministros Domini parvi pendere; ideoque, crudelis, vita extorquetur a te hodie."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii. p. 653, ad ann. 1045. Gregory of Tours (*Vit. Patr. except.*, vol. ii. p. 450) relates the following story of B. Nicetius protecting the harvests of the poor: "Cum propinqui ad urbem, cadente sole, fixis tentoriis mansionem pararent, illi confestim laxatis equitibus per segetes pauperum dimiserunt; quod cernens B. Nicetius, misericordia motus, ait: Expellite quantocius equos vestros a segete pauperis, alioquin removebo vos a communione mea. At illi indignantes dixerunt: Quænam est hæc causa quam loqueris; adhuc enim episcopalem apicem non est adeptus, et jam excommunicationem minaris? . . . Tunc cursu rapido abiens, ejecit equos a segete."

[3] "Comes quidam superbus et tumidus. . . . Ecce autem rusticus cel-

The protection which the people thus received from the monks while living, was also sought from them after their death. St. Peter Damian relates how a poor woman in Tuscany, from whom a certain Castaldio had stolen her cow, ran weeping to the church where this same St. Romuald was buried, crying out, "Ah, St. Romuald, protect my poverty! do not despise my desolate condition, but give me back the beast they have unjustly taken from me!"[1] Her prayer was answered; the robber, as if driven by some supernatural influence, gave back his prey, and went to his house, where he died.

The same faith prevailed in all Christian countries. At Perrecy, in Burgundy,[2] a much-dreaded knight, named Hugh Bidulphe, had, on the occasion of a riot, beaten a peasant belonging to the abbey of Fleury, and broken his arm;[3] the wounded man, finding no one to avenge him, entered the

lam Romualdi festinus aggreditur, jacturæ suæ casum clamosis ululatibus vociferatur, spem suam et suæ domus ablatam esse conqueritur. . . . Cujus preces comes protervo spiritu respuit, et quem saporem crassæ vaccæ lumbi potuissent habere, se ipso die gustatarum esse asseruit. Adveniente hora prandii, vaccæ carnes allatæ sunt. . . . In ipso edendi initio comes frustum bovini lumbi abscindens, sibi in os misit quod repente in gutture tam immobiliter hæsit. . . . Sicque terribili morte necatus est."—S. PETRI DAM., *Vit. S. Rom.*, No. 17.

[1] "Eheu, sancte Romualde, exaudi miseram, ne despicias desolatam et redde mihi gubernatricem meam injuste sublatam."—S. PETR. DAM., *loc. cit.*, No. 104.

[2] Perrecy, in the Charollois, had been given to the abbey of Fleury in 840 by Eccard, Count of Autun, Mâcon, and Châlons (see his will, and all the valuable cartulary of this priory in PÉCARD, *Recueil de pièces curieuses servant a l'Histoire de Bourgogne*, pp. 22 and 46). Part of the curious church of Perrecy reproduces, on a smaller scale, but with exactitude, the magnificent porch of Fleury or of St. Benoit-sur-Loire. There is nothing more interesting for the history of art than this influence of the mother over the daughter, even in architecture.

[3] "Cujusdam seditionis in eadem villa (Patriciaco) inter equites exortæ occasione, una dierum aggressus quemdam rusticum Guarinum nomine, a loco de Cumbis cognominatum, et ipsum de Patris familia progenitum, nulla justæ querelæ existente causa, tam crudeliter verberavit, ut ei brachium contriverit."—RADULPH. TOITARIUS, *Mon. Floriac., de mirac. S. Ben.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vi. p. 431.

Abbey Church, and approaching the altar, sacred to St. Benedict, laid his arm on it, saying, "My lord St. Benedict, I acknowledge that I am thy serf, and that thou art my master; look now at this wounded arm—it was thine, and no one else had any right to it; if thou hadst broken it, I should have had nothing to complain of. But, my lord, why hast thou allowed Hugh Bidulphe, to whom it did not belong at all, to crush it in this manner? Know that in future I shall not be able to do any service to thee or thine, unless, indeed, thou wilt take a just vengeance on him for me."[1] The monks, gathering round the altar, joined their tears and prayers to those of the sufferer. We are not told whether he was cured; but, a few days after, the wicked knight began to feel an acute pain in the same arm as that which he had broken for the peasant; the illness spread to his whole body, and he shortly died, a prey to the most terrible anguish.[2]

By such acts and such narratives the monks accustomed the oppressed to feel a confidence in their rights and in the justice of Heaven. They thus sowed continually in the midst of the Christian world an incorruptible seed of strength and freedom, which, marvellously mingled with respect for legitimate authority, was destined to render impossible among Catholic nations a return to pagan tyranny. St. Columba, the founder of Iona, the monastic apostle of the Celtic races, was known, even in the sixth century, to use his immense influence in Scotland and Ireland for bringing about the enfranchisement of slaves. At one time he refused to cure

[1] "Sancte Benedicte, mi domine, tuum me profiteor servum, et te meum jure dominum: cernis hoc contritum brachium: tuum erat, et præter te nemo alius. . . . Si tu illud confregisses, adversus te nullam haberem quæstionem, quoniam est tui juris. Sed, mi domine, quare permisisti ut Hugo Bidulphus, cui in nullo obnoxium est, illud contereret?"—RADULPH. TORTARIUS, *ibid.*

[2] "Brachium enim ipsius ejusdem lateris, cujus et rustici brachium verbere demolitus fuerat, cum toto humero tanta vi ægritudinis pervasum est, ut omnino inutile factum . . . eodem morbo omnia ipsius membra percurrente."—*Ibid.*

the foster-father of the Scottish king, except at the price of freedom for a poor Irish slave;[1] at another, he sent a sword with an ivory handle, the most valuable article he possessed, to ransom a man of the lower class, who had been condemned to slavery as a murderer and sent to Iona to expiate his crime.[2]

This was not all: monks laboured to bring the laws and customs, whose exponents they often were, into subjection to humane ideas; their influence predominated in courts and assemblies of all kinds, where their places were always reserved among the bishops and barons, and where there were often associated with them both citizens and peasants.[3] For a long time abbots formed the majority in the English Parliament: it was owing to them that the wisest and most durable constitution that the world has ever known was able to establish itself and take firm root. We have seen the monk Hedda presiding as Bishop of Winchester at the drawing up of a code for the protection of labourers and the poor. In this code, promulgated in 692 by the Anglo-Saxon King Ina, with the consent of his nobles, it was expressly stipulated that serfs forced by their masters to work on Sunday should be immediately enfranchised.

We borrow from one of the most learned writers on early English history the following testimony: "Although English bishops may have often tried to extend their privileges

[1] "Quandam Scoticam postulavit servam humanitatis miserationem liberandam. . . . Scito quia si mihi hanc peregrinam liberari captivam nolueris . . . citius morieris."—ADAMNAN., *Vit. S. Columbæ*, ap. Bolland., ACT. Junii, vol. ii. p. 220.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

[3] For example, in 1039, at a trial between the monks of Redon and the chaplains of the Duke of Bretagne: "Tunc episcopi simul cum abbatibus qui illic aderant, et optimates, et milites, ruricolæ nec non et burgenses, et etiam ipsi judices, uno ore conclamaverunt monachorum causam esse justam, clericorum vero injustam." In the deed of foundation of the abbey of Rillé, in 1150, we see that the Sire de Fougères convoked, with the clergy of his estates, "maximam partem baronum suorum, burgensium et rusticorum." These two deeds are quoted in the excellent *Histoire des peuples Bretons*, by M. Aurélien de Courson, vol. ii. p. 218.

beyond fitting boundaries, yet the existence of an order possessed of liberties which kings cannot infringe is in itself a direct and efficacious guarantee of the rights of other classes of the community. However powerful the nobles may have been, it is doubtful whether they would have been able to maintain themselves against the monarchy if they had been deprived of the support of the abbots and bishops, who were placed in the first rank as peers of the realm. The mitre has resisted many blows which would have broken the helmet, and the crosier has kept more foes in awe than the lance. It is, then, to these prelates that we chiefly owe the maintenance of the form and the spirit of free government, secured to us not by force but by law; and the altar has thus been the corner-stone of our ancient constitution."[1] Now it must not be forgotten that in England, until the twelfth century, not only the abbots who sat in parliament, but also the primate, and nearly all the bishops, were monks, and elected by monks.

[1] Sir F. Palgrave, *Hist. of England*, 1831, *Anglo-Saxon period*, p. 70. It is, however, this same author who declares that he can only explain the austerities of St. Dunstan's youth by supposing him to have been mad.

CHAPTER IV

SERVICES RENDERED BY THE MONKS TO SCIENCE, EDUCATION, LETTERS, AND HISTORY

Cultivation of literature in monasteries.—Love of books among the monks. —Monastic schools.—Fame of St. Gall.—The Ekkehards and the Notkers.—Studies prescribed by all monastic rules.—Monasteries centres of light and intellectual life.—Monks remarkable for literary zeal from St. Pachomius to St. Bernard.—Holy Scripture the principal study of monks.—The Bible not studied by the clergy only.—Education of children intrusted to abbeys.—Most schools had monks for masters.—Public instruction almost entirely centred in cloisters.—Two sorts of schools in monasteries.—Education which laymen received there.—Monastic schools for women.—Learned nuns.—Antiquity of monastic libraries.—Abbey libraries not solely theological. —But for the monks we should have possessed nothing of classic antiquity.—Transcription of MSS. by monks.—Spiritual goal of their literary labours.—Special services rendered to history by monks in France, Germany, England, and Italy. — Qualities of monastic historians.

We now reach the borders of a region much more fully explored than that through which our path has hitherto lain, and we will profit by this to abridge, as much as may be, the task we have imposed upon ourselves. The outcries raised against the religious orders through many centuries, by ignorance, hatred, and cupidity, had gradually ceased, so far at least as concerns the literary and scientific side of the institution; these outcries now come only from that lowest stratum of the mob where error and falsehood survive long after they have been abandoned by those who at first believed in them. Men capable of judging, even those most superficially versed in historic knowledge, are aware by this time that to speak of monkish ignorance would be only to

proclaim their own. Nevertheless, as the echo of these worn-out calumnies still makes itself heard from time to time even in books and lectures intended for the young, it may be useful to recapitulate here certain undeniable facts as to the nature and extent of the services rendered to literature and public instruction by the Monastic Orders, taking care, in our researches, not to come further down than the age of St. Gregory VII., and that which immediately preceded St. Bernard.

When the new forms of Christian society had been worked out through a thousand obstacles and a thousand storms, the persevering efforts of the Church and of the Benedictine army were required to establish that system of knowledge and instruction which naturally accompanied Christian civilisation. Illustrious monks, such as Bede, Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, for a long time laboured unremittingly for this end, and during the whole course of the tenth century their successors devoted themselves with equal zeal and success to the care of education and to the culture of literature, the future progress of which remained entirely in their hands.

As we have no desire to follow Mabillon[1] and Ziegelbauer[2] in their incontrovertible demonstration of the immense literary and scientific labours of their order, we will content ourselves with showing that, from the fall of the Roman empire until the thirteenth century, it was owing to monks that learning, study, and education were sheltered from the ravages of barbarism, and received that development which suited a Catholic and military society. All the monastic rules agreed in authorising or ordaining the study of literature. The oldest of all, that of St. Pachomius, is very distinct on this point. It requires that every monk shall be able to read and write. When one who could not

[1] MABILLON, *Traité des études monastiques*, 1691, and *Réflexions sur la réponse de M. l'abbé de la Trappe au Traité des études monastiques*, Paris, 1693, in-12.

[2] MAGNIALDI ZIEGELBAUER, *Observationes literariæ ordinis S. Bened.*, Aug. Vindelic., 1784, 4 vol. in-fol.

do this presented himself, they immediately put an alphabet into his hands.[1] The rule of St. Benedict assigned to every monk four hours daily for reading—that is, for study. Cassiodorus, the contemporary and rival of the great St. Benedict, made his vast abbey of Viviers, in Calabria, a real academy. He composed, for the use of the children under his charge, a special treatise, in which he prepared them for the study of Holy Scripture by detailed instruction in grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy —in other words, in the seven liberal arts. Dialectics were taught by himself and by his assistant Denis the Little, a monk who, though a Scythian by birth, could explain Greek at sight, and translate it into Latin with equal facility.[2]

At the same time, but at the other end of Europe, Abbot Maglorius in Jersey conducted the education of the children of noble houses, whom the hagiographer describes as going out to recite their lessons aloud among the wave-beaten rocks, so as not to disturb the siesta of their masters.[3]

The famous rule written about a century later than that of St. Benedict by an unknown hermit called "the Master," because none could be found to equal him, required that the monks should devote themselves to study until they reached the age of fifty.[4] The rules of St. Aurelian[5] and St. Ferreol[6] rendered this rule universal, and that of

[1] "Omnino nullus erit in monasterio qui non discat litteras et de Scripturis aliquid teneat."—*Reg.* S. Pacom. V. ALB. DE BROGLIE, iii. 104.

[2] CASSIOD., *Inst.*, c. 23.

[3] "Tunc parvuli monachi, nobili prosapia editi, qui inter claustra monasterii rigore disciplinæ constringebantur . . . dicentes: Permitte nobis portum atque littus adire ut garrulitas nostræ vocis monachis quiescentibus somnum non possit eripere, et ut securius alta voce legentes nostras lectiones valeamus commendare . . . hilares effecti per devexa montis lacera et scopulosa ad loca maritima descenderunt."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, p. 228.

[4] "Usque ad quinquagenariam ætatem litteras meditari," c. 50. Cf. MABILL., *Traité des études*, pp. 43, 44, and *Réflexions*, vol. i. p. 59.

[5] "Litteras omnes discant."

[6] "Omnis qui nomen vult monachi vindicare, litteras ignorare non liceat."

Grimlaïcus identified the character of hermit with that of doctor.[1]

Monastic tradition was, on this point, always completely in accordance with the rule. In the East as in the West, literary culture, without being by right inseparably attached to the religious profession, became in fact a constant habit and a special distinction in the greater number of monasteries.[2] In the depths of the deserts of Tabenne and of Nitria, the study of Holy Scripture and of the Fathers was placed by the solitaries of the Thebaïde in the same rank with penance and prayer. It was the same in all countries where the Benedictine order flourished. The more an abbey became famous for the learning of its monks, the more it was approved and venerated in the Church. "The neglect of letters,"[3] as a monkish historian expresses himself, was always noted as a cause of decadence, and the re-establishment of learning was an essential part of all reforms. Duke Tassillon of Bavaria, speaking of the foundations made by his ancestors, was therefore perfectly justified in describing them as "monasteries of study."[4] It is impossible to name any abbey famed for the number and holiness of its monks which was not also famed for learning and for its school of literature.

We have said elsewhere, and we cannot repeat it too often, Fulda, Corbie, Ferrières, Anagni, Marmoutier, Croyland, Fleury, Cluny, Bec, were homes of enlightenment, centres of intellectual life, such as have never since been seen in the world. These holy houses, and many others, rivalled in most respects that illustrious abbey of Lérins which Mabillon so justly describes as "an academy of virtue and learning open to all the nations of the world."[5] Monte

[1] "Solitarius debet esse doctor, non qui doceri indigeat," c. 20. We borrow these various texts from Mabillon.

[2] See the proof of this assertion in MABILLON, *Traité*, vol. i. c. 13 and 14.

[3] "Oblivio litterarum."—GUILLELM. MALMESB., *De Angl.*, i. 3.

[4] "Monasteria studiorum."

[5] MABILLON, *Réflexions*, vol. ii. p. 38.

Cassino, the metropolis of the Monastic Orders, nobly vindicated its claim to the foremost place by the fruitfulness and permanence of its intellectual labours, which astonish modern erudition,[1] and upon which was founded the fame of men such as Paulus Diaconus, the friend and correspondent of Charlemagne; Abbot Berthaire, a Frenchman by birth, physician and monk, who was martyred by the Saracens in 889; Abbot Frederic, Archbishop Alphano, and Abbot Didier, whose literary tastes did not hinder them from entering the lists among the most intrepid champions of the Church's liberty and the most active auxiliaries of Gregory VII.

It cannot be disputed that from the time of St. Pachomius and St. Basil to that of the contemporaries of St. Anselm and St. Bernard, nearly all eminent monks were distinguished for their love of sacred literature and their zeal for education. To support this assertion it should be enough to cite a small number of brilliant names such as Cassiodorus, Denis the Little, St. Benedict of Anagni,[2] Rabanus Maurus, Alcuin, Loup de Ferrières, Gerbert, and all the abbots of Cluny from St. Odo to Peter the Venerable. All showed themselves faithful to the precept which St. Jerome wrote to his disciple, "Have a book always in your hand or under your eyes;[3] and to the example of Bede, who said it had always

[1] See the recent history of Monte Cassino, in 3 vols. in-8, by D. LUIGI TOSTI, a monk of this abbey, who promises to be a worthy successor to the ancient fathers of the house. Cf. GIESEBRECHT, *De litterarum studiis apud Italos primis Medii Ævi sæculis;* Berolini, 1845, in 4°. The last 30 pages of this little work are consecrated to Monte Cassino, and contain most valuable details. A glance through the *Chronicon S. Monast. Casinensis*, by Leo of Ostia and Petrus Diaconus (apud MURATORI, *Script.*, vol. iv.), will convince any doubter of the growth of learning in this monastery.

[2] The words of the biographer of this holy reformer of monastic orders seem to deserve quotation: "Monasteriorum salubres consuetudines didicit suisque tradidit monachis observandas. . . . Instituit cantores, docuit lectores, habuit grammaticos, et scientiæ scripturarum peritos, librorum multitudinem congregavit."—*Vita*, c. 27, *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iv. p. 192, ed. Venet.

[3] "Nunquam de manu et oculis recedat liber."—*Epist. ad Rustic.*

been delightful to him either to learn, to teach, or to write.[1]

In every monastery there was established first a library, then great studios, where, to increase the number of books, skilful caligraphers transcribed manuscripts; and finally, schools, open to all those who had need of, or desire for, instruction. At Montierender,[2] at Lorsch, at Corvey, at Fulda, at St. Gall, at Reichenau, at Nonantula, at Monte Cassino, at Wearmouth, at St. Albans, at Croyland, there were famous libraries.[3] At St. Michael, at Luneburg,[4] there were two—one for the abbot and one for the monks.[5] In other abbeys, as at Hirschau, the abbot himself took his place in the Scriptorium, where many other monks were occupied in copying manuscripts.[6] At St. Riquier, books bought for high prices, or transcribed with the utmost care, were regarded as the most valuable jewels of the monastery.[7] "Here," says the chronicler of the abbey, counting up with innocent pride the volumes which it contained—"here are the riches of the cloister, the treasures of the celestial life, which fatten the soul by their sweetness. This is how we fulfil the excellent precept, 'Love the study of the Scriptures, and you will not love vice.'"[8]

[1] "Semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulce habui."—*Epist. ad Accam*, quoted by MABILLON, *Traité des Études*, p. 80.

[2] Gerbert sent to the library of Montierender for the *Commentaries of Cæsar*, which the monks had copied.

[3] See the catalogues of many of these great libraries recently published by Cardinal Maï in vol. v. of *Spicilegium Romanum*, 1839-42.

[4] Founded in 961.

[5] HURTER, vol. iii. p. 582.

[6] GERBERTI, *Hist. Nigr. Silvæ*, i. 162.

[7] "Jam quod ingenti studio fuit quæsitum, profertur magnæ scientiæ *præcipuum margaritum*, reparantur libri, conscribuntur necdum conscripti. Educantur pueri, dispertiuntur sapientiæ."—*Chron. Centul.*, book iv. c. i., in D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. There were in this abbey, in 831, two hundred and fifty-six volumes containing five hundred different works.

[8] "Hæ ergo divitiæ claustrales, hæ sunt opulentiæ cœlestis vitæ, dulcedine animam saginantes, per quas in Centulensibus impleta est illa salubris sententia: Ama scientiam Scripturarum, et vitia non amabis."—*Ibid.*, iii. c. 3; *Spicileg.*, ii. p. 311.

If we were called upon to enumerate the principal centres of learning in this century, we should be obliged to name nearly all the great abbeys whose founders we have mentioned, for most of them then were great homes of knowledge, not less frequented by the children of serfs and of the poor than by those of free and noble birth.[1] In the middle of the preceding century a council of Mayence had ordered that all children should be taken either to the monastery schools or to those kept by their priests to learn the rudiments of belief and the Lord's Prayer in their mother-tongue.[2] It was not then to the future inhabitants of the cloister alone, but to all Christian children, that the monks opened their doors and granted the benefit of their instructions. Thus history considers every monastery as a school,[3] its importance varying with the greatness of the house, where science and profane learning were taught as well as theology, and where Latin was studied at the same time with Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic. Among the most famous of these schools out of France were Monte Cassino, St. Maximin at Treves, St. Alban at Mayence, Prüm, Fulda, St. Gall, Hirschau, Gandersheim, where the nun Hroswitha composed her celebrated dramas, and Reichenau, where St. Wolffgang prepared himself to become the apostle of Hungary:[4] while in France we find Fleury, Gorze, Corbie, St.

[1] "Et non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum filios adgregent sibique socient."—*Capit. d'Aix-la-Chapelle de l'an* 789, ap. BALUZE, quoted by M. Mignet. We shall return to the subject of the education of laymen in monasteries.

[2] HURTER, vol. vi. p. 579.

[3] "Erat autem his temporibus . . . hæc consuetudo celeberrima ut scholæ monachorum in singulis fere cœnobiis haberentur, quibus non seculares homines, sed monachi moribus et eruditione præficiebantur nominatissimi, qui non solum in Divinis Scripturis docti essent, verum etiam in mathematica, astronomia, arithmetica, geometria, musica, rhetorica, poesi, et in ceteris omnibus sæcularibus litteraturæ scientiis eruditissimi. Ex his multi non solum in Romana lingua docti erant, sed etiam in Hebraica, Græca et Arabica peritissimi, quod ex eorum opusculis facile dignoscitur."—TRITEMIUS, *Chron. Hirsaug.*, anno 890.

[4] "Ubi tunc in Germaniæ partibus maxime pollebat scholare studium."

Denis, St. Martin at Tours, St. Bénigne at Dijon, St. Vincent at Toul, St. Germain des Prés, Luxeuil under Abbots Adson and Constance, Aurillac, where the future pope, Gerbert, was trained, and, above all, St. Rémy at Reims, where Flodoard and Richer wrote the annals of their age and country. The renown of the Abbey of Fleury was very widespread, and the monks who there, beside the tomb of St. Benedict, spent their lives in the pursuit of learning and piety, created a centre of intellectual light whence the future regenerators of education and of the monastic rule in England were later to draw their inspiration.[1]

St. Peter's at Ghent was almost the equal of Fleury; the monks of these great houses declared that they there found, at the same time, repose, happiness, learning, the glory of their order, and their own salvation.[2] All the holy abbots, all the monks become bishops, whose names are famous in contemporary history, watched with unwearied solicitude over the culture of letters in their monasteries:[3] [amid] the qualities which determined the election of superiors, special knowledge took rank among the most meritorious virtues; the government of schools seemed an essential branch of the government of souls.[4]

—OTHLONUS, *Vita S. Wolfgangi*, c. 3, ap. PERTZ, *Script.*, t. ii. p. 522. This life contains also curious details of the literary and philological studies to which the young nobles applied themselves even out of monasteries.—V. c. iv. and v. "Cum autem quadam die in Martiano de nuptiis Mercurii et Philologiæ legeret Henricus, eximia Francorum Suevorumque prosapia genitus," &c. This same work of Martianus is quoted as forming part of the library of St. Gall in the ninth century.—RATPERTI, *de Casibus S. Galli*, c. 10.

[1] We should overstep our assigned limits if we quoted from the original writers proofs of the scientific greatness of these houses. Many may be found collected in the notes to the *Vie du B. Lanfranc*, p. 35 of the edition of his works published by D'Achery in 1648.

[2] "Hinc veterum cœnobitarum frequens erat istud keleusma: ex scholis omnis nostra salus, omnis felicitas, divitiæ omnes, ac ordinis splendor constansve stabilitas."—ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. rei litt. O. S. B.*, i. 65.

[3] RICHER, l. iii, 42; MABILLON, *Act. Sanctor. O. B.*, vol. vii., et *Ann. Bened.*, vol. ii. and iii. *passim*.

[4] "Posuit Abbonem . . . morum sanctitate præclarum, litterarum

The zeal for knowledge thus universal among the monks was not confined to the walls of their monasteries; they conducted schools even in the palaces of the German and French kings.[1] Bishops drawn from the Monastic Orders continued in their dioceses the practice of public instruction.[2] When a monk such as Gerbert, famed for his attainments, opened a school, an army of scholars gathered round him,[3] and his renown excited the emulation of distant contemporaries.[4] But whether the monks placed the theatre of their teaching outside the monastic walls, or whether laymen gathered within the abbeys to profit by their lessons, the result was much the same. Let us glance at the important history of the monk Richer, lately discovered,[5] or at the admirable plays of the nun Hroswitha,[6] and then say whether these productions of tenth-century monasteries do not show a development of mental culture entirely incompatible with the idea which modern ignorance has rendered popular of the "night of the middle ages!" Then, at least, the Christian world did not deceive itself; it went calmly and confidently to seek in the shelter of Benedictine abbeys that vigorous education of the Western races which rendered possible all the miracles of faith,

scientia excellenter instructum, qui monachos doceret, scholas regeret, et in disciplina regulari et scientia litterali prodesset."—*Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 10, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii. p. 711.

[1] MABILL., *Annal.*, vol. iii. p. 164.

[2] See the example of St. Ethelwold in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii. pp. 599–605; and of St. Dunstan, of which we shall speak later.

[3] *Turmæ discipulorum*, says Richer, in speaking of the school kept by Gerbert at Reims, l. III, c. 45.

[4] It is worth while to read the curious story of the metaphysical contest between the Saxon Otric and the French Gerbert before the Emperor Otto at Pavia in presence of many scholars—*numerus quoque scholasticorum non parvus.*—RICHER, vol. iii. c. 55–65.

[5] See the critical notice on Richer by M. Guadet, in his edition of the historian, vol. i. p. xxii., &c. See, above all, Richer himself, pp. 616, 642, 643, of the edition of Pertz.

[6] They have just been translated and published with great care by M. Charles Magnin.

courage, fervour, and humility that illuminated Europe from the eleventh century to the fifteenth, from St. Gregory to Joan of Arc.

We have named St. Gall, and we must return for a moment to that vast monastic establishment the glory of which shone out so widely during the three centuries which separated Charlemagne from Gregory VII., and, above all, during the epoch of the later Carlovingians. For more than a hundred years St. Gall had to struggle to maintain its independence against the power of the Bishop of Constance. St. Othmar, whom Charles Martel had made abbot, was dead, martyr to a cause[1] only gained under Louis the German by the efforts of Abbot Hartmot.[2] But during these struggles, as well as after their conclusion, the possessions of the monastery gradually increased, and we are assured that they came to comprise 160,000 *journaux* of land,[3] in consequence of the innumerable donations made by Swiss and Suabian nobles and freemen. The principal lords of these countries considered it an honour to be vassals or tenants of the illustrious abbey under different titles; others confided their children to it; others furnished it with the greater number of its most distinguished abbots.[4] In the shade of its walls there dwelt a whole nation divided into two branches: the *familia intus*, which comprised the labourers, shepherds, and workmen of all trades; and the *familia foris*, composed of serfs bound to do three days'

[1] He died in a dungeon into which he had been plunged by Bishop Sidonius in 759.—WALAFRID, *Vit. S. Othmar*; Iso, *de Miracul. S. Othm.*; RATPERTI, *de Casibus S. Galli*, c. 2; VON ARX, *Geschichte des kantons S. Gallen*, vol. i. pp. 23, 29.

[2] ARX, i. 25, 52, 71, 158, 181.

[3] *Ibid.*, 156. The *journal* was an ancient measure of land varying in different provinces.—LITTRÉ. Probably originally as much land as a man could plough in a day.—*Tr.*

[4] Hartmot, abbot in 852; Bernard, in 883; Solomon, in 890; Burkard, in 959; and also the physician and schoolmaster Iso, who died in 871; Notker, the Stammerer, &c., were sprung from military or knightly families of the duchy of Allemania or Suabia.

work in each week. In the tenth century there were at St. Gall five hundred monks, of whom fifty-two were priests and thirty-nine deacons or sub-deacons, and there were twenty students.[1] All these monks mingled with the great family of husbandmen in cultivating the fields; and the greater part, says a contemporary chronicler, found a path to heaven through their humility, and gained an eternal kingdom by their charity.[2] The monks excelled themselves in building their church;[3] and, as the monkish historian already quoted says, "It was easy to see from the nest of what kind the birds were."[4]

A numerous series of eminent men issued from this nest. The first to be recorded is Abbot Solomon, Bishop of Constance, who, while minister of Louis the German and his four successors, governed for thirty years the great monastery in which he had been brought up. After him St. Gall was ruled by two dynasties of celebrated monks—the Ekkehards and the Notkers. Ekkehard I., head of the schools, and afterwards dean, privy councillor of the Emperor Otho the Great, is the author of a historical poem on Walter of Aquitaine;[5] his nephew, Ekkehard II., also head of the schools, chaplain and tutor to Otho II., possessed the then very rare art of stenography,[6] and was considered the handsomest

[1] ILDEFONS VON ARX, *Geschichte des kantons S. Gallen*, i. 55, 128.

[2] "Non dedignentur opus rusticum per semetipsos actitare, pensantes scriptum : humilitate penetratur cœlum, et caritate pervenitur ad regnum sempiternum." — *Fragm.* ERMENRICI *ad Grimoald.*, écrit vers 840, ap. MABILL., *Veter. Analecta*, p. 421, ed. in-fol.

[3] "Insula pictores transmiserat Augia clara."—*Cod. Ms. S. Gall.*, 397.

[4] "Bene in nido apparet quales volucres ibi inhabitant : cerne basilicam, et cœnobii claustrum," &c.—ERMENR., *Epist., loc. cit.* St. Gall still retains the primitive plan of the abbey and of all its dependencies such as they were in the ninth century. This unique monument, so invaluable for the study of monastic architecture, has been imperfectly reproduced by Mabillon in vol. ii. of the *Ann. Bened.*; but M. Keller has published it in facsimile in an opuscule *ad hoc*, Zurich, 1844, in 4°.

[5] This poem is lost : in 1155 it existed at Pfeffers; in 1220 at Muri. Ekkehard I. died in 973.

[6] EKKARD, c. 16, p. 58.

monk who ever wore the frock of St. Benedict;[1] Ekkehard III., cousin-german of the preceding, was for thirty years dean of the Abbey of St. Gall in the eleventh century, and inspired such affection in one of his brethren named Wickard, that the latter, seeing him die, flung himself upon his body, and died also of pure grief;[2] finally, Ekkehard IV., a learned philosopher, principal author of the invaluable chronicle of the community,[3] who, during his lifetime, saw a crowd of counts and knights, young and old, adopt the cowl, and follow the long procession of monks in the cloisters of the ancient abbey.[4]

Before the Ekkehards, the Notkers had shown themselves yet more remarkable. The first, Notker the Stammerer,[5] sprung from the blood of Charlemagne, a poet, a famous musician, author of fifty prose works, and of songs which were long sung by the people, was, after his death, venerated as a saint. Another, painter, physician, poet, and cali-

[1] "Facie decorus, statura procerus. . . . Nemini unquam Benedicti cucullus decentius insederat." This Ekkehard was surnamed Palatinus, from the fact of his life being passed at Court. He died in 990.

[2] *Necrolog. S. Gall.*, 21 mart. Ekk. iv., in cas. et lib. Benedict., p. 261.

[3] Entitled *de Casibus S. Galli*. The title of *Casibus S. Galli* is also given to a chronicle begun by Ratbert of Thurgovia in the tenth century, continued by Ekkehard IV. to the eleventh, by Burkhard to the twelfth, and by Conrad of Pfeffers to the thirteenth. It was published complete by Goldast in *Script. rer. Alamanicarum*, vol. i., ed. Senkenberg, in fol., but with extreme incorrectness. We do not believe there exists a more valuable and more complete monument of the interior life of a great monastery.

[4] "Comites aliosque potentes, locique milites, pro delectione festis diebus nobiscum crucem sequentes per claustrum, sequendo juvenes et senes quosdam ad cingulum barbatos monachicis indutos froccis."—*De Casibus*, c. 16. Ekkehard IV. died 1070. There was a fifth Ekkehard, called *Minimus*, who, under Innocent III., wrote the life of Notker the Stammerer, which is to be found in Goldast's second volume.

[5] *Balbulus*. In his writings he called himself "Æger et Balbulus et vitiis plenus . . . Notker cucullariorum S. Galli novissimus." He died in 912. His poem on the danger of death, which commences, *Media vita in morte sumus*, was for more than a hundred years a popular song, and even much used as a war-song in Germany.—ARX, i. 95. The last Ekkehard wrote the life of this first Notker, and Ekkehard IV. speaks much of him in his *De Casibus S. Galli*.

grapher,[1] much sought after by the two first Othos, was surnamed Peppercorn,[2] on account of his severity, which, however, did not prevent his brethren from inscribing his name in their obituary with the title of very gentle doctor and physician.[3] A third, named Notker "the excellent," or the "good abbot," nephew of the preceding, governed the abbey from 973 to 981 with equal skill and success.[4] A fourth, Notker the historian, after having been for a long time provost of St. Gall, left it to reform and direct the diocese of Liège.[5] Finally, the fifth Notker, called "Labeo," was reputed at once the most learned and the most agreeable man of his time:[6] theologian, poet, musician, philosopher, astronomer, mathematician, thoroughly versed in the Greek and Latin languages, he was considered also as one of the chief creators of German literature by his translation into the vulgar tongue of the Psalms and the Book of Job, and by a commentary on Aristotle which he wrote in that language.[7] In his last illness the old monk called together the poor of the neighbourhood to dine round his bed; and having for the last time enjoyed the pleasure of seeing their repast, he died in the midst of them.[8]

[1] "Scriptor, pictor, medicus, et poeta."—EKK., *de Casib.*, c. 9 and 12.

[2] "*Piperis granum*, propter severitatem disciplinarum."—EKK., *de Casib.*, c. 9.

[3] "Obitus Notkeri, benignissimi doctoris et medici."—*Necrol. cœv.*

[4] The results of his good administration were compromised by a bad abbot named Gerard (990 to 1001); but the latter was replaced by Burkhard II., who re-established all that Gerard had compromised or dishonoured.

[5] He was made bishop in 971, and died in 1008.

[6] "Nostræ memoriæ hominum doctissimus et benignissimus."—*Chron.* HEPIDANNI, ad ann. 1022.

[7] He succeeded in expressing philosophical abstractions in the scarcely formed German of his time; we see remarkable instances in the quotations of Von ARX, vol. i. pp. 262, 269. His translation of the Psalms is printed in the *Thesaurus* of Schilter.

[8] In 1022, at the age of seventy-six years. There was in the thirteenth century a sixth Notker, described as *doctissimus et benignissimus*.—*Act. SS, O. B.*, vol. vii. p. 13.

Under men of such an order, intellectual work could not be neglected at St. Gall. A learned posterity has been able to make this clear by collecting together the MSS. of their famous library,[1] the finest and most exact in existence,[2] ornamented with the most delicate miniatures, and transcribed by the monks with religious care on parchment of extreme fineness prepared by their own hands.[3] The fame of Sintram, the greatest of these laborious copyists, was so spread abroad, that all the countries north of the Alps were acquainted with it;[4] and his zeal was so indefatigable, that every great abbey in Germany possessed at least one book written by his hand.[5]

The vast dictionary which bears the name of the *Vocabulary of Solomon*, and which was edited by the monks of St. Gall, was in reality a kind of literary and scientific encyclopædia.[6] Latin was their habitual language,[7] and they wrote it better than any of their contemporaries; but that did not prevent them from giving a great share of their attention to the literary development of German. In the two schools attached to the monasteries, lectures were given on Cicero, Quintilian, Horace, Terence, Juvenal, Persius, Ovid, and even Sophocles.[8] Greek also was cultivated by monks called "Hellenic brothers."[9] The Duchess Hedwig of Suabia herself taught Greek to Abbot Burkhard II. when

[1] See the successive additions to this library given by RATPERT and EKKEHARD, *De Casibus S. Galli*, *passim*.

[2] This testimony is borne by Mabillon, Baluze, and other competent judges.

[3] They also bound their own books, and the names of the most skilful binders have been preserved.—DIGBY, *Mores catholici*, x. 242.

[4] "Omnis orbis cisalpinus Sintramni digitos miratur. . . . Scriptura cui nulla, ut opinamur, par erit ultra."—EKK., *in Casib.*, c. i. p. 20.

[5] EKK., c. i.

[6] This MS., of 1070 pages, was printed in the fifteenth century.—ARX, i. 101.

[7] "Nemo præter exiles pusiones quicquam alteri nisi latine loqui ausus est."—EKK., c. 10.

[8] EKK., *Lib. Benedict.*, p. 345; quoted by ARX.

[9] "Fratres hellenici."—*Cod. MS.*, 381, p. 9. *Ibid.*, p. 184.

he was a child, and rewarded him by the gift of a Horace for his readiness in verse-making.[1] This duchess, in her turn, had learned Latin from the Dean of St. Gall, Ekkehard I., in partnership with whom she wrote a commentary on Virgil. As to Ekkehard III., Notker Labeo, and Ekkehard IV., they read Homer and made Greek verses,[2] and in dialectics took Plato for their guide as well as Aristotle.[3]

As may well be supposed, Scripture was the principal study of the monks. In examining, even superficially, those ages which heresy has dared to represent as without the knowledge of the sacred writings, it is easy to convince ourselves that not only churchmen—that is to say, those who made a profession of learning—knew the Holy Scriptures thoroughly, but that laymen, princes, soldiers, even the poor, knew them almost by heart, and could perfectly comprehend the numberless quotations and allusions with which everything that has descended to us from this period —conversations, correspondences, deeds, written documents, historical narratives, and sermons—are filled.

Those who have ever opened any volume whatsoever, written by the professors or historians of the middle ages, must stand amazed before the marvellous power of falsehood, and the incredible ease with which it takes root and grows, when they reflect that it has been possible, even in our days, to make a large portion of the human race believe that the knowledge of Scripture was systematically withheld from the men who composed, and from those who read, the books of that age. Considering the intimate relations which, in the middle ages, existed between monks and laymen, how is it possible to imagine that these latter should not have acquired the knowledge of Bible histories and language?

[1] He had described in verse the embarrassment caused by a kiss which the learned duchess had given him.—EKK., in *Casib.*, c. 10. He was elected abbot in 1001.

[2] V. ARX, i. 260.

[3] Notker Labeo made a paraphrase of Aristotle's *Logic* in German. Arx quotes a considerable fragment of it, vol. i. p. 262.

If it is beyond a doubt that the monks made Holy Scripture the basis of their theological studies, it is equally certain that they brought to these studies a mass of other knowledge, and, notably, all that they could gather with regard to physical science.[1] Thence it arose that in most medieval works the term *scripturæ* or *scripturæ sacræ* does not always mean Holy Scriptures, but sometimes all sorts of books which treat of Christian or ecclesiastical truths, and are useful aids to understanding the Word of God.[2] Thanks to this wide extension, the monks were far from limiting their labours to the interpretation of the Bible or the different branches of theology, which are commonly supposed to have been their exclusive study before the Renaissance. No knowledge was strange to them: philosophy in its scholastic form, grammar and versification, medicine, botany, mechanics, astronomy, geometry in its most practical applications—all these were the objects of their researches and their writings.[3] Their life in the cloister was, in a certain sense, the permanent continuation of their earlier education.[4]

This laborious and varied knowledge acquired by the monks found in the education of youth an application equally natural and universal. We may safely affirm that this was the principal employment of monastic activity

[1] See Mabillon's fine demonstration of this fact in his *Réflexions sur la réponse de M. l'abbé de la Trappe*, vol. i., art. 15, and the valuable passage which he quotes from St. Gregory Thaumaturgius.

[2] See the proof in Mabillon, *Réflexions*, vol. i. pp. 199, 236; vol. ii. p. 99.

[3] Among a thousand monuments to this diversity of studies in monasteries, we may point out a curious poem, addressed by the holy monk Alfano, descended from the princes of Salerno, to Theodin, son of the Count des Marses, a novice at Monte Cassino: we find there a detailed account of the daily occupations in the great monastery, and the ideas of astronomy, botany, &c., which were held there. This poem has been published by Giesebrecht in the little work which we have already quoted.

[4] This is very well shown in a curious passage relating to the monks of the Abbey of St. Michael at Hildesheim in the eleventh century, of whom it is said: "*Ita ut timidius in claustro quam in scholis manum ferulæ subducere viderentur.*"—*Chron. S. Mich.*, ap. Meib., *Script. rer. Germ.*, vol. ii. p. 517.

throughout the medieval period. The benefits of instruction were almost exclusively dispensed by their care from the ninth to the fourteenth century—that is to say, during the epoch of the Church's greatest power and splendour. When education passed into the hands of secular corporations by the foundation of universities, the religious orders in all countries nevertheless remained charged with the task of providing religious and intellectual training for a large proportion of Christian youth. From the epoch of the first foundation by Cassiodorus in Calabria till that of the last communities which have been suppressed in our days in Bavaria, Spain, and Switzerland, monasteries have always remained faithful to this tradition—excepting, indeed, those of whom the Commendam had devoured the substance and destroyed the discipline.

It may be said, in general terms, that every monastery was a school, and that these two words were almost always synonymous.[1] The solitaries of the Thebaïde received from the hands of their friends who remained in the world, the children whom it was their mission to bring up.[2] St. John Chrysostom shows that, in his time, the inhabitants of Antioch sent their sons to the monasteries to study.[3] The rule of St. Benedict made an express mention of the care required for the education of pupils:[4] the saint himself gave lessons to the young sons of Roman nobles.[5] The most

[1] This is the reason why Tassilon, Duke of Bavaria, in a deed given at Kremsmünster, describes the abbeys founded by his ancestors as *monasteria studiorum*.—HURTER, vol. iv. p. 99. A French author, Baudoin Moreau, quoted by Ziegelbauer (i. 8), proves this fact in the following terms: "*Omnia cœnobia erant gymnasia, et omnia gymnasia cœnobia.*"

[2] "Dedit eam ad discendas litteras intra monasterium."—*Vit. S. Marinæ*, ap. Rosweyd, p. 393.

[3] *Advers. oppugnatores vit. monasticæ*, lib. iii.

[4] "Infantum usque ad quintum decimum ætatis annum, disciplinæ diligentia sit et custodia ab omnibus; sed et hoc cum omni mensura et ratione."—Cap. 70. See other analogous passages in chapters 30, 37, 45, and 63 of the Rule.

[5] "Cœpere ad eum Romæ urbis nobiles et religiosi concurrere suosque

ancient rules, such as those already quoted of St. Basil, of the monk called "the Master," of Grimlaïcus, and others, contain analogous passages.[1] Under the Merovingians, when an abbey was founded either in France or Belgium, new converts came in crowds to implore the monks to instruct their children in science and literature. It was the common custom that all monasteries should receive the scholars who came to them from all sides, "like bees to the hive."[2]

The decrees drawn up by the monk Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, for reorganising the English abbeys after the Conquest, contain most minute directions as to the education of both poor and rich pupils who were destined to spend their youth in the cloister.[3] In turning over the leaves of the customs of Cluny, arranged by the holy monk Udalric, himself also a contemporary of Gregory VII., we may easily convince ourselves of the rigid and exact discipline which, together with the most scrupulous solicitude, ruled the education of the troops of children gathered together by this queen of abbeys.[4] The good monk thus concludes the chapter which he consecrates to the children: "After having often considered the vigilance which watches over them day and night, I have said in my heart that it would be difficult for the son of a king to be brought up with more care

filios omnipotenti Deo nutriendos dare."—S. GREG. MAGN., *Dial.*, i. 3. St. Maur and St. Placidus, his first disciples, were sprung from the first families of Rome.—Cf. MABILLON, *Traité des études monastiques*, p. 65.

[1] See MABILLON, *Réflexions*, art. 6, vol. i. pp. 53-65.

[2] *Ibid.*, art. 12.—St. Benedict did not fix an age for children to enter monasteries. St. Gregory the Great required eighteen years for a definite profession; but there are very many examples of children received at seven, at five, and even at three years old. Dom Pitra quotes many in his *History of St. Leger*, p. 100.

[3] *Decreta pro ord. S. Bened.*, ap. WILKINS, *Concil. Anglic.* and *Bibl. Patrum*, vol. xviii. p. 763, *ed. Lugd.*

[4] *Antiquiores consuetudines Cluniacensis monasterii, collectore* S. UDALRICO, *monacho Benedictino*, lib. iii. c. 8, ap. D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. i. p. 690.

in a palace than is shown to the very least of these at Cluny."[1]

But nothing, perhaps, shows more clearly how the work of education was identified with the monastic spirit than a charter preserved in the archives of St. Gall, in which a serf (*homme de corps*) of the abbey consecrated a part of his earnings to founding an annual bequest of a cup of wine to be given to each scholar of the abbey on Easter Day.[2]

After the regulation of learning in cathedrals and monasteries effected under Charlemagne, a certain number of episcopal schools were preserved in the chief towns of some dioceses, but not of all.[3] The episcopal schools themselves were generally founded and conducted by monks.[4] We see this from the example of Gerbert at Reims, and, still better,

[1] "Et ut tandem de pueris concludam, sæpe numero videns quo studio die noctuque custodiantur, dixi in corde meo difficile fieri posse, ut ullus regis filius majore diligentia nutriatur in palatio, quam puer quilibet minimus in Cluniaco."—D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, i. p. 690.

[2] "Pueris adhuc scholæ deditis cyatus cum vino præbeatur." This serf was named Erchenbert, and his property was situated at Elk.—*Deed quoted* by ARX, *Hist. of St. Gall*, vol. i. p. 189. M. de Courson relates, in the *Moniteur universel* of March 17, 1854, col. 302 (*les Anciennes Forêts*), a delightful story of the life of St. Lubin (Leobinus), who lived about the middle of the sixth century, and died, after having been Bishop of Chartres, in 550. One day when he was keeping his father's herds in a pasture near Poitiers, Lubin saw a monk of Noaillé coming towards him; and as he had a great desire to learn to read, he implored the monk to draw the letters of the alphabet for him. But the latter, "*Cum non haberet codices aut tabularum supplementum, prout potuit apices in cingulo scripsit . . . ut qui multis erat profuturus ad exemplum castitatis, ipse cœlibatus zona circumdatus, candoris instar fragrantis lilii, circa renes haberet cingulum litteris inscriptum veritatis.*"—*Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. i. p. 123.

The hagiographer adds, that the father of the young Lubin gave him tablets, but would not allow him to renounce field-work. Lubin passed seven years in a monastery. Obliged during the day to do the work of a cellarer, he gave his nights to study; and as he feared to excite the murmurs of the brothers, "*fenestræ quæ oculis fratrum patula erat, velum opposuit, ut lumen eis redderet subobscurum, et ipse lectionis caperet incrementum.*" Later, Lubin became a pilgrim of knowledge, visited St. Calais, St. Loup, St. Césaire, Lerins, and came back to die in his first cell.

[3] GIESEBRECHT, *De litter. studiis ap. Italos*, p. 14.

[4] MABILLON, *Præf. in sæc. III. Bened.*, p. 46.

by that of the monk Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, who, with the help of his friend Abbot Adrian, taught the young Anglo-Saxons not only the Holy Scriptures, but also the rules of poetry, astronomy, and arithmetic, and brought his scholars to use Greek and Latin almost as readily as their mother-tongue.[1] But most dioceses sent their pupils to the monastery schools. In the eleventh century, for instance, the youth of Lyons, Besançon, Autun, Langres, Châlons, and Strasburg used to go to Luxeuil to study under the teacher Constance, who died in 1015.[2] There were schools called Palatine in the palaces of the kings of France and Germany, and other private and free schools in many towns; but nearly all which are still known were kept by monks. In the first rank of monk-professors stood the famous Alcuin, head of the schools at the Court of Charlemagne — and Rémy, a monk of St. Germain d'Auxerre, who successively directed the rural school of the priests of Reims and the palatine school at Paris, established in the palace of Charles the Bald. This holy man chiefly taught dialectics and music, and is thought to have done more than any one to extend the study of letters in France in the ninth century.[3] Later, we must notice Hilderic at Benevento,

[1] "Et quia litteris sacris simul et sæcularibus . . . abundanter ambo erant instructi, congregata discipulorum caterva, scientiæ salutaris quotidie flumina irrigandis eorum cordibus emanabant; ita ut etiam metricæ artis astronomiæ et arithmeticæ ecclesiasticæ disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum volumina suis auditoribus contraderent . . . usque hodie supersunt de eorum discipulis qui latinam græcamque linguam æque ut propriam, in qua nati sunt, norunt."—BED., *Hist. eccles.*, iv. 2.

[2] This Constance was author of a treatise on the nature of liquids.—*Hist. littér. de France*, vol. vii. p. 82. His disciple, Gudenus, wrote a touching elegy on the death of the learned monk.—Voy. ED. CLERC, *Essai sur l'hist. de Franche-Comté*, vol. i. p. 243; and D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*

[3] "Ex Remigio propagata est per universam fere Galliam scientia litterarum."—MABILL., *Præf. in V. sæc. Bened.*, No. 43. Cf. *Præf. in IV. sæc.*, No. 181, and *in VI. sæc.*, No. 7; FLODOARD, liv. iv. c. 5; ZIEGELBAUER, vol. i. p. 26. It was Rémy who educated St. Odo, second Abbot of Cluny. See, for the character, both lay and ecclesiastical, of the teaching in the Merovingian and Carlovingian schools of the palace,

under the Emperor Louis II.; and in the eleventh century, Guillaume d'Averse and Benedict of Chiusa.[1] The best judges regard the Benedictines as the first masters and true founders of the most celebrated schools of modern Europe—such as the universities of Paris,[2] Oxford,[3] and Cambridge,[4] and the medical school of Salerno.[5]

Public instruction, then, was almost entirely centred in the cloister,[6] and was thence abundantly distributed to all who claimed it. There, according to the testimony of St. Boniface,[7] the German apostle and martyr, little children came to learn to read; and there were trained men who, like Bede, Boniface, Alcuin, and so many others, were at once the light and the glory of Christendom: thither gathered a crowd of students of all ranks and all countries—a crowd so numerous that the abbatial school of Fleury or St. Benoit-sur-Loir alone, counted, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, its five thousand scholars.[8] There were schools even in the

the excellent demonstrations of DOM PITRA, *Hist. de St. Leger*, c. 2 and 3, and D'OZANAM, *Études germaniques*, vol. ii. c. 9. Under Clotaire II. the chief of the palace school bore the title of Abbot of the Palace.

[1] GIESEBRECHT, lib. c. pp. 15, 16. Cf. MABILL., *Annal.*, vol. iv. p. 726; and *Præf. in sæc. IV. Bened.*, § viii. No. 181.

[2] MABILL., *Præf. in IV. sæc. Ben.*, No. 182.

[3] WOOD, *Hist. univ. Oxonien.*, l. i. p. 12.

[4] Later, we will give the history of this foundation, due to an abbot of Croyland in the twelfth century.

[5] ZIEGELBAUER, par. ii. c. 3, sect. 3, p. 305.

[6] The great Alcuin, by turn pupil and superior of the great monastic school in the metropolis of York, tells us that grammar, rhetoric, jurisprudence, poetry, astronomy, natural history, mathematics, and chronology were taught there, and at the same time explanations were given of the mysteries of Holy Scripture.—ALCUIN, *Poem. de Pont. et SS. Eccles. Eborac.*, v. 1431–47.

[7] Speaking of the inhabitants of the Abbey of Fulda, St. Boniface says: "*Sunt pene omnes peregrini, quidam presbyteri, quidam monachi . . . et infantes ad legendum litteras ordinati.*"—*Act. SS. Boll.*, vol. i. June, p. 490.

[8] JOAN. DE BOSC., *Bibl. Floriac.*, ap. ZIEGELBAUER, pars i. p. 233. Cf. ACHERY, *Essai sur la question de savoir si le christianisme a nui aux sciences*, in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, vol. xviii. p. 156. This valuable work has been printed, but only fifty copies of it were produced; therefore we prefer to quote from the better-known collection, in which it appears

cells or priories dependent on the principal abbeys, and that even from the ninth century;[1] though those of the abbeys themselves were naturally of greater importance. While ordinary monasteries served as primary schools for the youth of the neighbourhood, more distinguished pupils were collected in the higher schools established in great and rich communities, under the direction of monks not less learned in secular literature than in theology.[2] At the risk of repeating once again names already often mentioned, we will enumerate the monastic schools which, by the extent and variety of their teaching, and by the number of their pupils, became the true centres of education for all Christian races. In Italy these were Monte Cassino, Nonantula, Pomposa, and Classe;[3] in Germany—Fulda,[4] Fritzlar, Hersfeld, St. Gall, Reichenau, Corvey, Prüm, Hirschau, Wissembourg, Metloch, St. Maximin and St. Matthias at Treves, St. Alban at Mayence; in England—another St. Alban, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Croyland, and St. Peter

in the form of extracts. It is known that under the anagram D'Acheri is concealed the name of a pious Jesuit, Father Cahier, perhaps the most learned archæologist of our days.

[1] *Legend. S. Meinrad. in Propr. Einsiedlensi*, quoted by LANDOLF, *Ursprung des Stiftes Maria Einsiedl.*, p. 34.

[2] This distinction is perfectly established by TRITHEMIUS: "In *omnibus* ordinis nostri cœnobiis, in Germania et Gallia maxime, monachorum scolastici et monachi habebantur, qui juniores quosque et ingenio præstantes in *primitivis literarum scientiis* erudirent, et postea qui habiles inventi fuissent, *ad altiora* transmitterent. In solis autem famosioribus cœnobiis . . . constituebantur ad officium docendi alios monachi omnium doctissimi, et non solum in divinis sed etiam in secularibus literis eruditi, ad quos mittebantur monachi altioribus disciplinis eruditi."—*Chron. Hirsaug.* Cf. ZIEGELBAUER, pars i. 189.

[3] We may remark that the Italian monasteries bore less fruit in this respect than those of Germany, France, and England.—GIESEBRECHT. The school at Monte Cassino was suppressed during the eleventh century in consequence of disorders which had crept into it, and Peter Damien congratulates the abbey upon the fact.—Ep. ii. 17. But this school was soon re-established; for Gelasius II., Pope in 1118, was brought up there, and St. Thomas Aquinas was placed there at the age of seven years.

[4] "Erat Fulda pulcherrima academia honestissimarum rerum ac disciplinarum."—BRUSCHIUS, *Monast. germ. chron.*, p. 59.

at Canterbury; in France and Belgium—Marmoutier, Fontenelle, Fleury, Lobbes, Aniane, Corbie, Ferrières, St. Germain d'Auxerre, St. Michael in Lorraine, St. Amand, St. Evroul, Gembloux, Bec, Cluny, Chaise-Dieu, St. Mayeul in the Puy.

These were, in fact, the universities of Christian Europe, from the epoch of Charlemagne to that of St. Louis.[1]

Naturally these great schools were of two kinds; or rather, in each of the principal monasteries there existed two schools: an inner one for the novices—the future monks—and for those children whom their parents destined for the life of the cloister; an outer one for those who were to return to the world, where, together with the sons of the warlike nobles, were received the clergy sent thither from different dioceses.[2] There were, indeed, two distinct kinds of education, or of *discipline*, as it was called—monastic education and liberal education.[3] Both were supplied from the bosom of the monasteries, where, since the time of Charlemagne, the Benedictine rule, in harmony with the civil laws, had called together alike the sons of the warlike

[1] For a detail of the services rendered to education by the monastic orders, we must refer to the excellent works of MABILLON, *Præf. in sæc. III. Bened.*, sect. iv.; and, above all, to those of ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. rei lit. O. S. B.*, pars i. c. 1 and 2. The latter really exhausts the subject. There is also a good *résumé* in HURTER, *Essai sur les institutions de l'Église au temps d'Innocent III.*, vol. iii.

[2] "Exteriorem in qua magnatum nobiliumque liberi fingebantur."—BROUWER, *Antiq. Fuldens.*, p. 36. Cf. MABILLON, *Traité des études*, p. 51; and *Præf. in sæc. III. Bened.*, sect. iv. No. 40; ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. lit. O. S. B.*, pars i. 190, 208. The Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, tried to forbid these double schools: "*ut scholæ in monasterio non habeatur, nisi eorum qui oblati sunt.*" But this order was not executed. Children destined to the cloisters were named *oblati;* and the others, or scholars properly so called, *nutriti*. This distinction is perfectly marked in the text of Ekkehard of St. Gall, brought to light by DOM PITRA: "*Traduntur post breve tempus* SCHOLÆ CLAUSTRI *cum* B. Notkero *et cæteris* MONACHICI HABITUS PUERIS. *Exteriores vero, id est canonicæ, Isoki cum Salomone et ejus comparibus.*"—EKKEHARD, *Vit. S. Notkeri*, c. 7.

[3] *Disciplina monastica et liberalis*, or *Disciplina regulari et scholaris.*—*Act. SS. O. B. passim*, and elsewhere.

nobility to learn the duties of their high station towards the Church and the world—and the sons of the poorest serfs, to be freed and elevated by education.[1] Hurter, in his remarkable *Essay on the institutions of the Church to the time of Innocent III.*, thinks that he has found, in a passage from the rule of St. Ferreol, quoted below,[2] the first trace of that common instruction which, in our days, some have tried to employ against Catholicism. A learned modern writer has even said that in the twelfth century knowledge was distributed to the people at the convent doors, just as bread was given to the poor and medicine to the sick.[3]

Those writers, therefore, who have maintained that the ancient monastic schools were only intended for the training of youths destined to be monks, have deceived themselves

[1] In the capitulary of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 789, is the following: "Et non solum servilis conditionis infantes, sed etiam ingenuorum filios adgregent sibique socient, et fiat scholæ legentium fiant, psalmos, notas, cantus, computum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia discant."—BALUZE, vol. i. p. 174. Here is what is said on the subject by a learned Protestant of the seventeenth century: "Nec modo ingenuorum sed servorum etiam liberi erudiebantur, quorum qui infimo ordine erant, psalmos canere et sacros libros legere discebant, quæ eadem et abbatum cura erat, delectis quidem monachis magistrisve, qui ei muneri præessent. Nobiles maxime in collegiis et monasteriis institutebantur, ex quibus, qui magis profecissent, sæpe sodales facti et promoti ordine, magno honori et collegiis et monasteriis fuere."—JOACH. VADIANI, *De collegiis monasteriisque Germaniæ*, in GOLDAST., *Script. Alamann.*, vol. iii. p. 3. Other examples—in the tenth century Irish monks open a school on the site of Glastonbury Abbey: "Suscipiunt filios nobilium liberalibus studiis imbuendos. . . . Adest ergo nobilissimus in Christo puer Dunstanus . . . litterarum studio intentus acerrimo. . . . Flebat scholasticorum cœtanea turba. . . ."—OSBERN, *Vit. S. Dunstan*, in *Anglia sacra*, vol. ii., and *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. iv. parte secund., p. 842 *et seq.*

[2] "Ediscendo memoriter psalterio, partito agmine toto in decurias, ac prestituto singulis decuriis lectore, quem ceteri audiant."—HURTER, *loc. cit.*, vol. iv. p. 571.

[3] M. Charles Magnin, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, vol. vii., first series. He quotes the example of the Abbot of St. Génèvieve at Paris in the twelfth century, who divided his monastic school into two classes—one in the abbey for novices and the professed, and one at the door of the house for scholars from without.

as completely as those who have asserted that any interference in education on the part of monks was an infringement of their rules.[1] Facts prove that everywhere monasteries were centres of education, not only for the younger clergy, but also for young laymen; and that students went there as Lanfranc and St. Anselm did to Bec, without any intention of adopting monastic life.[2] Let us open, at hazard, almost any volume of the Acts of the Saints of the Order of St. Benedict referring to the first half of the eleventh century, and there will appear on nearly every page undeniable proofs of the existence of this custom, One example we find in the case of Athenulfe,[3] son of the Prince of Capua, who, being delivered as a hostage to the Emperor Otho, is sent to Germany to be brought up in a monastery,[4] where he does not even wear the monastic dress;[5] another in that

[1] Such, for example, as M. Etienne-Marie Portalis, Minister of Public Worship under Napoleon I., who maintains that "the monks who claimed any share in education proclaimed themselves unworthy members to their order."—*Discours, Rapports, &c., publiés par son petit-fils.* When we confront such affirmations with formal passages in the rule of St. Benedict, and with a crowd of examples given by the holiest monks, we perceive that the ignorance of the so-called prince of modern legists was almost equal to his instinctive dislike to the liberty of the Church.

[2] It is true that the canon forty-five of the decree rendered by the great assembly of abbots convoked by Louis le Debonnaire, at Aix-la-Chapelle, in 817, forbade the admission into monastic schools of children other than those dedicated to the cloister by their parents (*oblati*). But this command was evidently in opposition to the course of events. The love of Christian people for the monks overthrew this prohibition, which was not executed, as can be proved by a thousand examples of the contrary custom.—See ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. litt. Ord. S. Ben.*, pars i. c. 3, and Le PÈRE CAHIER, *Si le christianisme a nui aux sciences*, c. xix. p. 118, note 2, *loc. sup. cit.*

[3] Giesebrecht, pp. 18, 19, has collected several proofs of this important fact, and does not hesitate to declare that the young Italian nobles generally studied in cloisters. But he is mistaken in thinking that the monastic annals of other countries furnish less numerous or striking examples than those he has gathered in Italy.

[4] He afterwards became Abbot of Monte Cassino, and died towards 1010.

[5] It is easy to perceive this from the text of the *Chronicle of Monte*

of the young Count of Sommerschenburg, Bernward, afterwards Bihosp of Hildesheim, who, during his studies in the monastery of that town, went out when he pleased, in order that his family might be able to admire the progress he was making in versification, in logic, in painting, and engraving.[1] The successor of Bernward, St. Godehard,[2] found the monastic school of his episcopal city filled with young, zealous, and well-trained scholars, who enabled him to supply all the wants of his diocese.[3] Another instance is that of Gotescalc, son of a Slav prince of Mecklenburg, and afterwards son-in-law to the King of Denmark, who studied at the monastery of Luneburg, from whence he escaped on hearing of his father's death.[4] And again, we find a holy

Cassino, book ii. c. 29, where it is said, in speaking of his flight from the monastery: "Monastica veste indutus fugam arripuit . . . cucullam, quam fugæ occasione simulanter induerat." If he only put on the cowl as a means of concealment in quitting the monastery, it is evident that he did not wear it habitually. See also what is said in c. 30.

[1] "Meæ parvitati, qui primicerius scholæ puerorum præeram litteris imbuendus deputatur . . . quem interdum extra monasterium excedens ducebam . . . sæpe totum diem inter equitandum studendo attriirmus; nunc legendo . . . prolixam lectionem . . . nunc poetizando per viam metro collusimus . . . sæpe syllogisticis cavillationibus desudavimus. Ipse quoque me crebro, etsi verecunde, acutis tamen et ex intimo aditu philosophiæ prolatis quæstionibus sollicitabat. . . . In scribendo (*caligraphy*) apprime enituit: picturam etiam limate exercuit. Fabrili quoque scientia et arte clusoria (*chasing, or the art of setting*), omnique structura (*architecture*) mirifice excelluit. . . . "—*Vit. S. Bernwardi, auct.* TANGMARO, *presbyt. æquali*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi., pars prima, p. 203.

[2] Died in 1038.

[3] The whole text deserves quotation: "Cœnobium suum pastorali cura sapienter gubernavit . . . *Juvenes quoque et pueros*, quos *inibi* bonæ indolis et sapidos invenit, per diversa scholarum studia circumquaque dispertivit, quorum certe postea servimine variam ac multiplicem ecclesiæ suæ utilitatem in lectione, scriptura et pictura, ac plurali honestiori clericalis officii disciplina conquisivit."—*Vit. S. Godehard, auct.* WOLFERO, *ejus æqual. et discip.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. p. 409.

[4] After having begun by making war on the Christians to avenge the death of his father, Gotescalc became the apostle of Mecklenburg, and died a martyr in 1068.—*Act. SS. Boll., die 9 Junii*; HELMOLD, *Chron. slav.*, book i. c. 28.

abbot, William of St. Bénigne,[1] during his struggles against the ignorance and stupidity of the secular clergy in Normandy and other French provinces, summoning to the monastic school, which he managed at Fécamp, Bèze, Dijon, &c., a crowd of pupils drawn indifferently from the families of rich or poor, freemen or serfs. The latter paid no fees, and were maintained at the cost of the abbeys,[2] which were thus transformed into real *seminaries*, in the modern sense of the word.

No doubt this was an indirect means of recruiting the monastic ranks, since many of the pupils would naturally prefer a religious life to any other. No doubt, also, the Church had a right to the best fruits of such teaching; but —we repeat it again—it was a benefit not denied to any layman who desired it, even with the avowed intention of remaining in the world.[3] Thus the sons of the possessors of fiefs held from St. Gall were educated in that great

[1] Died in 1031.

[2] Here also the text is curious enough to deserve all the reader's attention: "Cernens vigilantissimus pater, quodnam non solum illo in loco (*Fécamp*), sed etiam per totam provinciam illam, nec non per totam Galliam, in plebeiis maxime scientiam psallendi ac legendi deficere et annulari clericis, instituit scholas sacri ministerii, quibus *pro Dei amore* assidui instarent fratres hujus officii docti, ubi siquidem gratis largiretur cunctis doctrinæ beneficium ad cœnobia sibi commissa confluentibus; *nullusque qui ad hæc vellet accedere prohibetur.* Quin potius *tam servis quam liberis, divitibus cum egenis*, uniforme caritatis impenderetur documentum. *Plures* etiam *ex ipsis cœnobiis*, utpote rerum tenues, *accipiebant victum.* Ex quibus quoque *nonnulli* in sanctæ conversationis monachorum devenere habitum."—RADULPH. GLABER., in *Vit. S. Guillelm.*, n. 11. We see, then, that Abbot William had founded real seminaries five centuries before the Council of Trent, and that these houses for education even resembled the *petits séminaires* of our own times.

[3] See the many examples and testimonies quoted by ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. litt. O. S. B.*, pars i. c. 1, and c. 2, sect. 1 *et seq.* "Wernherus, dictus Kempho, curtem nobis contulit hoc pacto ut Marquardus nepos ejusdem quindecim annis apud nos erudiendus *si libenter profiteri voluerit*, consortio nostro adunetur."—*Monumenta Boica*, vol. x. p. 149. In the same collection we find a donation made to the monastery of Au for the benefit of a child *who was only to choose an occupation after having finished his studies.*

abbey,[1] where, as in so many others, no superiority or distinction but that of capacity was acknowledged.[2] Often, indeed, there might be seen, seated side by side, the sons of serfs—ennobled by learning and fed by the charity of the monks—and the sons of knights, such as those whom the nobles of Aquitaine had confided to the founder of the Grande-Sauve;[3] or like that young crusader, afterwards lieutenant to the gallant Bohemond, who, on his return from Palestine, full of gratitude to his master, St. Anselm, sent to him at his abbey of Bec a reliquary containing some of the hair of the Blessed Virgin.[4]

In Germany, the children of the highest nobility were at a very early age confided to the monks.[5] Under the Carlovingians, the Abbey of St. Riquier, in Picardy, had one hundred children in its school, among whom were sons of dukes, counts, and the first lords of the kingdom.[6] At Fleury and Reichenau there were special colleges for the young nobles, whence they issued to marry or to follow a soldier's life.[7] At St. Germain d'Auxerre, at the time of

[1] It is said of Tutilo, the famous musician, "*Filios aliquorum in loco ab abbate destinato fidibus edocuit.*"—EKKEH., *De Casib. St. Galli*, c. 3; and of the Abbot Notker (975-985), "*Filios aliquorum qui patrum beneficia habituri erant, adreruptos severe educaverat.*"—*Ibid.*, c. 16.

[2] EKKEHARD, *Casus S. Galli*, 10.

[3] CIROT, *Hist. de la Grande-Sauve*, vol. i. p. 292 *et passim*.

[4] "In quo sub tuo patrocinio ad ætatem hominis provectus sum."—EADMER., *Hist. novorum*, book iv. p. 75, ed. Gerberon. He was named Igyrus, and was *magister militum* to the celebrated Bohemond.

[5] "Sub ævo Carolorum, Ottonum, Henricorum, regum ducumque liberi, tenelli adhuc, in canonicorum aut monachorum collegia amandabantur; at apud religiosos homines, procul a strepitu offendiculisque aulicis, a tenero ungui ad exercitia pietatis, honestarumque ac liberalium artium et linguarum cognitionem assuefierent."—MEIBOM., *in dedic. Vindiciar. Billing.*, ap. ZIEGELBAUER.

[6] "Centum pueros scholis erudiendos. . . . Statuimus. . . . In hoc enim cœnobio duces, comites, filii ducum, filii comitum, filii etiam regum, educabantur: omnis sublimior dignitas quaqua versum per regnum Francorum posita, in S. Richarii monasterio se parentem habere gaudebat."—*Chron. centul.* in *Spicileg.*, vol. ii.

[7] "Principes, comites et barones illic educarentur . . . tum bene institutis ac libero educatis integrum ac liberum erat prodire iterum vel uxores

the Norman conquest of England, the Abbot of Selby offered to the young Hugh, who had been brought up in that monastery, the choice between the knightly spurs in the world and the monastic knighthood of the cloister.[1] At the same period, the young Jarenton, who had been educated with the greatest care at Cluny, renounced the monastic profession, which he was destined later to make illustrious, in order to embrace a military life.[2]

Sometimes, even, there were found in the monastery-schools sons of kings, and future kings, such as Pepin the Little and Robert the Pious, who were brought up, one at St. Denis, the other at Reims. Sancho the Great, King of Navarre and Castile, came from the monastery of Leyre[3] —as Louis le Gros, King of France, did from the abbey of St. Denis, where, in the words of Suger, he had become a very accomplished theologian,[4] which, however, did not

ducere, vel aulas principum, vel militiam sequi."—BRUSCHIUS, *Monast. Germ. Chron.*, p. 8. See ZIEGELBAUER'S reflections on this passage, *Hist. litt. O. S. B.*, pars i. p. 217.

[1] "In eodem educatus monasterio abbati diu servierat . . . benignus Dominus. . . . Duarum illi proposuit optionem . . . vel militiæ cingulum in sæculo, vel militiam in monasterio."—*Hist. monast. Selebiensis* in Anglia, c. 4. Ap. LABBE, *Bibl. nov. ms.*, i. p. 597.

[2] "Militaria potius instrumenta appetens."—HUGO FLAVINIAC., ap. LABBE, vol. i. p. 197. This incident was not new: four centuries earlier the noble Aicadre, after having studied from the age of ten to that of fifteen in the monastery of St. Hilaire, at Poitiers, re-entered the world, and passed several years in it before returning to the service of God.—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ii. p. 954 *et seq.*

[3] MABILLON, *Annal.*, book lv. c. 29.

[4] "Litteratissimus theologus." We must here note the error of M. Guizot in the sixth lesson of his *History of Civilisation in Europe*, where he argues that the Church schools were meant only for the education of the clergy, and that the Church did nothing for the intellectual development of laymen. In her schools (which were, we repeat, nearly all monastic) the Church, on the contrary, offered instruction to all laymen who required it. But it can be easily understood that a great number, destined to war or agriculture, according as they were born nobles or peasants, felt no need for any great education. To reproach the Church with this is to reproach her for having submitted to the conditions of that social order over which she presided. One of the fundamental principles of this

prevent him from being a most gallant knight and skilful politician.

Finally, the great Alfred, the most illustrious of English kings, the liberator of his country, the hero of fifty-two battles, was not ashamed, when he had reached mature years, to repair his imperfect education by going to the school established by the Benedictines in Oxford, and there studying under their direction grammar, philosophy, rhetoric, history, music, and versification.[1]

The monasteries of women, following the example of abbeys for men, contained schools where were trained not only the future novices, but also numbers of young girls destined for the life of courts or of the world.[2] One of the oldest rules relating to convents—that of St. Césaire of Arles, instituted in the fifth century, and brought a hundred years later to Poitiers by St. Radegonde—required that all the sisters should be able to read, and that they should devote two hours daily to study.[3] St. Leoba, the friend

social order was that which obliged him who desired to devote himself to learning or the work of education to devote himself at the same time to the Church either as clerk or monk, so that he might be able to find in this vocation,—first, a moral and intellectual discipline, and, secondly, a benefice which might supply the daily needs of a learned life at a time when no one enjoyed the products of any literary property. This identity between the ecclesiastical calling and the profession of letters or science was perfectly expressed in old French by the word *clergie*, which signified science, as the word *clerc* meant a man of education (*un loup, quelque peu clerc prouva par sa harangue*—a wolf, somewhat educated, proved by his harangue . . .—LA FONTAINE). The same identification of the two words, science and clergy, is found in the German language at the present day, in which the term *lay* is used in the sense of strange to a science, art, or trade of any kind. It is well known that ancient German society was divided into three orders or estates, thus qualified—*Lehrstand, Wehrstand, Nehrstand;* literally, the order of teachers, the order of defenders, and the order of providers for the other two and itself—or, in other words, the clergy, the nobility, and the people.

[1] Cf. ÆLRED, SPELMAN, OUDIN, ap. ZIEGELBAUER, pars i. pp. 326, 327.

[2] *Hist. litt. de la France*, vol. ix. p. 127. Cf. P. CAHIER, l. c., vol. xviii. p. 107, note 5, and p. 108, note 1.

[3] "Omnes bonas litteras discant; omni tempore duabus horis, hoc est a mane usque ad horam secundam, lectioni vacent."—C. 17.

and helper of St. Boniface, introduced the study of the Fathers, and that of canon law, into her convent, which she transformed into a kind of normal school, for the service of the neighbouring abbeys of women.[1] Princes and nobles went thither to seek wives, as Henry the Fowler went to Herford. All the distinguished abbesses were noted for their care of the material wellbeing and intellectual progress of their young pupils. Monastic history does not disdain to speak of the caresses lavished by the illustrious Adelaide of Luxembourg, Abbess of Vilich,[2] on those little girls of her school who answered correctly the questions of their grammar mistresses, and the trouble the good superior took in going every day after matins to warm the feet of her young novices who were still in bed.[3] History speaks with admiration of the illustrious monasteries of Bethlehem, founded by St. Paula and her daughter, under the auspices of St. Jerome. These were at once schools of theology and of languages. Hebrew and Greek were the daily study of these two admirable women, who advised St. Jerome in all his difficulties and cheered him in all discouragements.[4]

From the first introduction of the Monastic Orders into

[1] *Vit. S. Liobæ*, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. III. M. Michelet, in a *mémoire* read at the Institute, May 2, 1838, spoke as follows of the learned Lioba: "The Bible was hardly ever out of her hands; even in bed she had it read to her. They continued to read while she slept; and her biographer asserts that if they missed a syllable she instantly woke."—MICHELET, *Discours sur l'éducation des femmes*. Canon 22, book ii., of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, contains detailed directions for the education of young girls in the abbeys of women, on the choice of mistresses among the nuns, on the parts of Holy Scripture which the pupils ought to study, &c.

[2] Died in 1015.

[3] "Hyemis tempore, matutinorum officio completo, dormitorium repetens cum ordine sororum, lectulos puellarum visu diligenter lustravit, pedes singularum, donec calori redderentur, piis ipsa manibus fricavit. . . . Scholæ . . . quæ semper fuerunt summæ curæ officii. Has cum frequenter ingressit, moveret de arte grammatica quæstiunculas," &c.—*Vit. S. Aldelheid. abbat., auct.* BERTHA, *ejusd. sanctim. et coæqual.*, cc. 10, 13, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi., pars prima, pp. 142, 143.

[4] S. HIERON., *Epist.* 92 *ad Eustoch.* Cf. OZANAM, vol. ii. p. 101.

various Christian countries, schools for girls, managed by nuns, never ceased to furnish Catholic society with a class of exceptional women, as distinguished for intelligence as for piety, and who, in the study of literature, rivalled the most learned monks.[1] It is known that all the nuns of the choir were required to understand Latin, and that letters to them were always written in that language.[2] It would be easy to quote a crowd of learned and accomplished abbesses and nuns. We have only to remember St. Aura, the friend of St. Eloi, and the nun Bertile, whose learned lectures on Holy Scripture drew to Chelles, in the sixth century, a large concourse of auditors of both sexes; St. Radegonde, whose profound study of the three Greek fathers, St. Gregory, St. Basil, and St. Athanasius, is commemorated by Fortunatus;[3] and, finally, St. Gertrude, Abbess of Nivelle, who sent messengers to Rome and to Ireland to buy books, and to bring learned foreigners thence.

The Anglo-Saxon race, above all, was rich in women of this kind: many are to be found among the princesses established in the numerous abbeys of England—such as Edith, natural daughter of King Edgar, who, brought up by her mother in the nunnery at Wilton, was equally famed there for her knowledge and her virtue.[4] In Germany,[5] among the nuns associated with the mission of the English monk St. Boniface, was St. Lioba, placed by him at the head of the first abbey of women founded in the new patrimony with which he had just endowed the Church. It was by her side that the great missionary chose to be interred.

[1] "Sanctimonialium studium quondam ardens in litteris excolendis," says Mabillon, in *Præf. sæc. III. Bened.*, No. 47.

[2] *Histoire littéraire de France*, vol. ix. pp. 127–130.

[3] FORTUNAT., Oper., p. i. liber viii. c. 1. The life of St. Radegonde has been written with admirable simplicity by one of her nuns.

[4] "Litterarum ac virtutum splendore . . . multa sanctorum exempla in codicibus lectitabat."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. vii., ad ann. 984. She died in 984.

[5] "Chunihilt et filia ejus Berathgiht valde eruditæ in liberali scientia, in Turingorum regione constituebantur magistræ."—OTHLO, *Vit. S. Bonif.*, l. i. c. 25.

Lioba was so eager for knowledge that she never left her books except for divine service. She was well versed in all which were then called the liberal arts; was thoroughly acquainted with the writings of the Fathers and canon law;[1] cultivated Latin verse, and showed her attempts to St. Boniface, who admired them greatly. By her lessons and her example she trained many pupils, who in their turn became famous abbesses. To her is due the honour of having trained in Christian knowledge the young girls who filled the new nunneries founded under the teaching of the Saxon missionaries.[2] The Germans really owe to her the introduction among them of that monastic culture which, later, was to shine with such brilliance in the person of Hroswitha, the illustrious nun of Gandersheim, whose pure and poetic genius has[3] received from contemporary erudition a late but splendid acknowledgment.[4] It is known that she

[1] "Lectionis studio tanta diligentia incumbebat ut nisi orationi vacaret, nunquam divina pagina de manibus ejus abscedebat . . . ab ipsis infantiæ rudimentis grammatica et reliquis liberalium artium studiis instituta . . . eruditissima. . . . Dicta SS. Patrum et decreta canonum, totiusque ecclesiastici ordinis jure plenitudini perfectionis adjecit."—RUDOLPH., *Vit. S. Liobæ*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iv.

[2] "Eo in Parthenone non parvus ancillarum Dei numerus . . . quæ ad exemplum B. Magistræ cœlestis disciplinæ studiis instituebantur, et in tantum doctrina proficiebant, ut plures ex illis postmodum magistræ fierent aliorum."—*Vit. S. Liobæ.*

[3] There was at Gandersheim another Hroswitha, daughter of the Duke of Saxony, and fourth abbess of this convent, in the ninth century. She composed a much-esteemed treatise on logic. She has often been confounded with the author of the dramas; but wrongly, as M. Magnin has shown, p. xiv.

[4] She died in 997. The curious works of this celebrated nun, always attractive to the learned, seem now destined to obtain a new popularity, thanks to the excellent publication of M. Charles Magnin, entitled, *Théâtre de Hrosvita: texte et traduction.* (See also M. Philarète Chasles' ingenious article on this work in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1845, vol. xi. p. 707.) M. Magnin has, by this publication, rendered an essential service to the history and literature of the monastic ages. But it is difficult to understand why so conscientious a *savant* should still speak seriously of the "night of the middle ages," and so fail to understand the intellectual development of the Monastic Orders, particularly in the tenth century, as

wrote, in rhymed verse,[1] the history of the Emperor Otho the Great, that of the famous nunnery she inhabited, and the lives of several saints. But the greatest glory of the pious writer was to have composed the plays which she caused to be acted in her abbey. These dramas astonish us by the extraordinary acquaintance they prove with the authors of classic antiquity—Plautus, Terence, Virgil, and Horace—and yet more by a knowledge of the human heart, truly remarkable in a woman completely shut out from the world. In these works, equally edifying and curious, Hroswitha has clothed with a new and attractive form many of the most touching legends of Catholic tradition; and in language often pathetic, and sometimes sublime, she paints with wonderful energy the sacrifice of human to divine love, and the glorious triumph of the sacred weakness of Christian maidens over all earthly passions and all earthly sufferings.[2] Hroswitha was

to say that the Abbey of Gandersheim was, in Germany, "like an intellectual oasis in the midst of the steppes of barbarism!"

[1] See, in M. Magnin's introduction, the exact enumeration of the religious, historical, and dramatic poems of this illustrious woman, who herself, with the greatest modesty, gives the following account of her studies: "Hec matura adhuc ætate vigens, nec scientia fui proficiens; sed nec alicui sapientum affectum meæ intentionis consulendo enucleare, ne prohiberer pro rusticitate. Unde, *clam cunctis et quasi furtim nunc in componendis* SOLA desudando, nunc male composita destruendo, satagebam juxta meum posse, licet minime necessarium, aliquem tamen conficere textum ex sententiis Scripturarum, quas intra aream nostri Gandersheimensis collegeram cœnobii." She adds that her first success is owing to Rikkarde, mistress of the novices, and then to the Princess Gerberge: "*Cujus nunc subdor* dominio abbatiæ, quæ ætate minor, sed, ut imperialem decet neptem (Ottonis I^mi) provectur, aliquot auctores quos ipsa prior a sapientissimis didicit, me admodum pie erudivit."—HROSVITHÆ, in *Opera sua præfatio*, Vignon edidit, p. 16.

[2] This is how she herself describes the object of her plays: "Quo . . . laudabilis sacrarum castimonia virginum, juxta mei facultatem ingenioli, celebraretur. . . . Detestabilem inlicite amantium dementiam et male dulcia colloquia eorum mente tractavi . . . quia quanto blanditiæ amantium ad illiciendum peremptiores, tanto et superni adjutoris gloria sublimior et triumphantium victoria probatur gloriosior, præsertim cum feminea fragilitas vinceret, et virile robur confusioni subjiceret."—HROSVITHA, *Præfatio in comœdias.*

the most famous but not the only learned nun of this period. In the age of St. Gregory VII., Cecilia, daughter of William the Conqueror, Abbess of the Trinity at Caen, and Emma, Abbess of St. Amand, were equally famed for their skill in grammar, in philosophy, and in poetry.[1] A little later, Herrad of Landsperg, who governed forty-six noble nuns at Mont St. Odile in Alsace, composed, under the name of *Hortus deliciarum*,[2] a sort of cosmology, which is regarded as the first attempt at a scientific encyclopedia, and is noted for the breadth of its ideas on painting, geography, philosophy, mythology, and history. Germany is also indebted to an abbess of Eichstatt for having preserved the *Heldenbuch*, the treasury of her heroic stories, to which, with good reason, she attaches so great a value.[3]

The principal and most constant occupation of the learned Benedictine nuns was the transcription of manuscripts. It can never be known how many services to learning and history were rendered by their delicate hands throughout the middle ages. They brought to the work a dexterity, an elegance, and an assiduity which the monks themselves could not attain, and we owe to them some of the most beautiful specimens of the marvellous caligraphy of the period. The introduction of this art dates indeed from the first ages of Christianity. Eusebius speaks of young maidens whom the learned men of his time employed as copyists.[4] In the fifth century, St. Melania the younger distinguished herself by

[1] *Hist. litt. de France*, vol. ix., p. 130.

[2] This famous work exists in MS. in the library at Strasbourg. It is the subject of a very incomplete essay by M. Engelhard, entitled, *Herrad von Landsperg und ihr Werk:* Stuttgard, 1818. See the valuable notices in the essay of the learned and indefatigable PÈRE CAHIER, *Si le christianisme a nui aux sciences* in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, vol. xviii. p. 437, and vol. xix. p. 54.

[3] GÖRRES, *Histor. polit. Blätter*, vol. xvii. p. 482. HURTER, vol. iii. pp. 575–580, mentions an abbess *litterarum scientia clara* from *Egmonti Chron. Belg.*, and nuns near Admont, described as *valde litteratæ et scientia S. Scripturæ mirabiliter exercitatæ*, by GERBERT, *Hist. Nigr. Silvæ*, p. 91.

[4] PÈRE CAHIER, *loc. cit.*, p. 215.

the beauty and exactness of her transcripts.[1] In the sixth, the nuns of the convent at Arles, excited by the example of the Abbess St. Cesarie, sister of the Archbishop St. Cesaire, acquired a not less brilliant reputation.[2] In the seventh century, St. Gertrude, so skilled in Holy Scripture, sent to Rome and other foreign countries not only to ask for works of the highest Christian poetry, but also for teachers capable of directing the meditations of her nuns, and enabling them with the help of the Holy Spirit to comprehend the mysterious meaning of certain allegories.[3] In the eighth century, St. Boniface begged an abbess to write out for him in golden letters the Epistles of St. Peter.[4] In the ninth, the Benedictine nuns of Eeck on the Meuse, and especially the two holy abbesses Harlinde and Renilde, attained a great celebrity by their caligraphic works, and by the splendour of the ornaments which they used.[5] Finally, to stop at the epoch of St. Gregory VII., a contemporary nun, Diemude, at Wessobrunn in Bavaria, undertook to transcribe a series of important works, the mere enumeration of which would frighten a modern reader.[6] These works formed, as we read in the saint's epitaph,[7] a whole library, which he offered as a

[1] MABILLON, *Traité des études monast.*, p. 39.

[2] "Libros divinos pulchre scriptitant virgines Christi, ipsam magistram habentes."—CYPRIANI, *Vit. S. Cæsar.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. i. p. 688.

[3] "Per suos nuncios . . . sancta volumina de urbe Roma et de transmarinis regionibus gnaros homines ad docendum divinæ legis carmina, ut sibi et suis quid esset meditandum . . . ut pene omnem bibliothecam divinæ legis memoriæ reconderet et obscura allegoriæ mysteria Spiritu sancto revelante, aperte auditoribus aperiret."—*Vit. S. Gertrud.*, cc. 2, 3, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ii. p. 465.

[4] S. BONIFACII, *Epist.*, 28.

[5] "Præter textilia opera, quatuor Evangelia, Psalterium integrum, aliosque plures divinæ Scripturæ conscripsisse, ac liquido auro gemmis, margaritisque exornasse memorantur."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. iii. p. 658.

[6] The list, which is extremely long, may be seen in PEZ., *Thesaur. Anecdot. noviss. Dissert. Isag.*, in vol. i. p. 20.

[7] "III kalendas Aprilis obiit pie memorie Diemut inclusa qua e suis manibus bibliothecam S. Petro hic fecit." This pious nun seems to have left a lasting memory of herself in the minds of the sisters of Wessobrunn; for, more than a hundred years after her death, her anniversary was kept

tribute to St. Peter; but which, however, did not prevent her from carrying on with Herluca, a nun at the neighbouring convent of Eppach, a spiritual correspondence remarkable for the grace of its expression.[1] As may well be supposed, these noble and pious ladies did not copy without understanding; but were able to profit by what they transcribed.[2]

Nuns, therefore, were the rivals of monks in the task of enlarging and fertilising the field of Catholic learning.

Every one is aware that the copying of manuscripts was one of the habitual occupations of monks. By it they fed the claustral libraries already spoken of, and which are the principal source of modern knowledge. Thus we must again refer to the first beginning of the Monastic Orders to find the earliest traces of a custom which from that time was, as it were, identified with the practices of religious life. In the depths of the Thebaïde, in the primitive monasteries of Tabenna, every house, as we have said, had its library.[3] There is express mention made of this in the rule of St. Benedict.[4] Cassiodorus, who honoured all the great Catholic traditions, endowed his abbey with books alike numerous and valuable. Dating from these patriarchs of the Monastic Orders, through all the ages of their history, to name an important monastery is to indicate a sort of oasis of knowledge. Every notable abbot, every monk famed for piety or austerity, made himself remarkable for zealous and laborious efforts to collect, buy, and preserve books, and to increase the number of them by transcription. I doubt whether it is possible to point out one well-known monastery or abbot presenting an exception to this general rule.[5]

by a special meal and a solemn service, in virtue of a legacy left by the monk Conrad Pozzo for the benefit of his learned brethren: "*Omnibus litteratis confratribus Deo ibidem militantibus.*"—*Hist. polit. Blätter*, vol. xxiii. p. 847.

[1] "Epistolæ suaves valde," &c.—*Ibid.* p. 21.

[2] PÈRE CAHIER, *loc. cit.*, p. 217.

[3] *Traité des études monastiques*, pp. 10, 34.

[4] C. 48.

[5] In order to be brief, we are obliged to refer the reader for proof of

Hence comes the saying, "A cloister without books is a fortress without an arsenal." [1]

To avoid repetition, we will confine ourselves to the mention of a few names and facts. In the seventh century, St. Benedict Biscop, founder and abbot of Wearmouth in England, undertook five sea voyages to search for and purchase books for his abbey, to which each time he brought back a large cargo.[2] In the ninth century, Loup of Ferrières transformed his monastery of St. Josse-sur-Mer into a kind of depot for the trade in books which was carried on with England.[3] About the same time, during the wars which ravaged Lombardy, most of the literary treasures which are now the pride of the Ambrosian library were being collected in the abbey of Bobbio. The monastery of Pomposa, near Ravenna, had, according to contemporaries, a finer library than those of Rome or of any other town in the world.[4] In the eleventh century, the library of the abbey of Croyland numbered 3000 volumes. The library of Novalese had 6700, which the monks saved at the risk of their lives when their abbey was destroyed by the Saracens in 905. Hirschau contained an immense number of manuscripts.[5] But, for the number and value of its books,

this assertion to ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. lit. ord. S. Bened.*, pars. i. cc. 5, 6, sect. 1, from which PÈRE CAHIER has extracted the excellent article *Des bibliothèques du moyen âge*, in his Essay already quoted, *Si le Christianisme a nui aux sciences.*

[1] Literally, "*Claustrum sine armario* [of books] *quasi castrum sine armamentario*," quoted by St. Bernard. Cf. MARTÈNE, *Thes. Anecdot.*, vol. i. c. 511.

[2] "Libros non paucos vel placito pretio emptos, vel amicorum dono largitos retulit . . . innumeram librorum omnis generis copiam apportavit. . . . Bibliothecam quam de Roma nobilissimam copiosissimamque advexerat."

[3] LUPI FERRAR, *Epist.*, 62.

[4] It was collected by the Abbot Jerome in 1093.—HENRICI CLERICI, *Epist.*, ap. MONTFAUCON, *Diar. Italic.*, c. 6. Nonantule, Casa Auria, and, above all, La Chiusa, were, however, in this respect, rivals of Pomposa.

[5] "*Ingens copia*," says Trithemius, in speaking of the devastation of this abbey in 1002.

Fulda eclipsed all the monasteries of Germany, and perhaps of the whole Christian world.[1] On the other hand, some writers assure us that Monte Cassino, under the Abbot Didier, the friend of Gregory VII., possessed the richest collection which it was possible to find. This was the result of the residence in Italy of the African Constantine, who, after having passed forty years in the East studying the scientific traditions of Egypt, Persia, Chaldæa, and India, had been driven from Carthage by envious rivals; and coming to the tomb of St. Benedict, to assume there the monastic habit, endowed his new dwelling with the rich treasure of books collected in his wanderings.[2]

The libraries thus created by the labours of monks became, as it were, the intellectual arsenals of princes and potentates. The Emperor Charles le Gros took from St. Gall St. Gregory's homilies on the Gospels. The Empress Richarda borrowed from the same monastery the great doctor's commentary on Ezekiel; and the Arch-chancellor Luitward, the Epistles of St. Jerome. A century and a half later, the Empress Gisela sent thither in her turn to ask for the German translation of Job and the Psalms.[3] These books, so much sought after, naturally brought about an exchange of good offices between the abbey and the different congregations: owners of books offered them to each other, and sent them to each other from great distances. Charity, and the spirit of union as well as learning, gained by this. "We send you a pledge of our affection, and we would fain have one from you in return,"[4] wrote Durand, abbot

[1] ZIEGELBAUER, vol. i. p. 484. He gives the old catalogues of the libraries of this and several other abbeys, with a number of details of great interest for bibliographic science.

[2] PETR. DIAC., *Chron. Cassin.*, l. iii. c. 35.

[3] Marginal notes on the old catalogue of St. Gall, quoted by ARX, vol. i. pp. 95, 191. "Unum ex his datum est Carolo regi. Habet domna Richardis," &c.—EKKE., iv., in *lib. Benediction. S. Gall.*

[4] S. ANSELM., *Epist.*, i. 61. See also the passage of book i. *ep.* 10: "Domno abbate concedente, me volente, nullo fratrum resistente, nostro pariter et vestro compensato commodo, libenter vobis quoscumque libros,

of Chaise-Dieu, to St. Anselm, then prior of Bec, when he asked for St. Paul's Epistles. The correspondence of Loup de Ferrières, and those of Gerbert, Lanfranc, and Peter the Venerable, all contain details on this point which are equally touching and instructive.[1]

We must conclude, then, that at the period of which we speak, as is generally supposed, books were far from being as rare in that old Christian Europe covered with monasteries, each of which possessed its own library. There were also collections of books in all the cathedrals, in all the collegiate churches, and in many of the castles.[2] Much has been said of the excessive price of certain books during the middle ages: Robertson and his imitators, in support of this theory, are fond of quoting the famous collection of homilies that Grecia Countess of Anjou bought, in 1056, for two hundred sheep, a measure of wheat, one of millet, one of rye, several marten-skins, and four pounds of silver.[3] An instance like this always produces its effect; but these writers forget to say that the books bought for such high prices were admirable specimens of caligraphy, of painting, and of carving. It would be just as reasonable to quote the exorbitant sums paid at sales by bibliomaniacs of our days, in order to prove that since the invention of printing, books have been excessive in price.[4] Moreover, the ardent fondness of the Countess Grecia for beautiful books had been shared by other amateurs of a much earlier

vel potius quæcumque habemus, mittemus quando exigetis: quos vero de nostris vos habetis, dimittemus quamdiu exigetis."

[1] PÈRE CAHIER, book c. vol. xviii. pp. 29-33.

[2] PÈRE CAHIER. [3] MABILL., *Annal.*, book lxi. c. 6.

[4] I borrow this remark from the English writer, Maitland, in his valuable work called *The Dark Ages* (p. 67), where he justly ridicules the foolish stories repeated for a century past by Protestant and philosophical historians as to the barbarism of the middle ages. He quotes on this subject an instance of an English nobleman who, in 1812, paid, at a sale, the sum of £2260 for the unique copy of a certain edition of the *Decameron*. "Certainly," says Maitland, "the purchase of the Countess Grecia does more honour both to her wit and to her century."

date. Bede relates that Alfred, King of Northumbria, in the seventh century, gave eight hides of land to St. Benedict Biscop in exchange for a *Cosmography* which that book-loving abbot had bought at Rome.[1]

The monks loved their books with a passion which has never been surpassed in modern times. We find proofs of this both in their writings and in a thousand incidents of their lives. They often undertook long and difficult journeys to procure manuscripts, or even merely to consult them: we possess, for example, a curious account of an excursion made by the monk Richer of Reims to the town of Chartres, for the purpose of seeing the Aphorisms of Hippocrates.[2] And books, once acquired, were regarded as the most precious treasure of the monasteries. The monks of Monte Cassino, when forced, about the year 580, to abandon their abbey to the rage of the Lombards, made no attempt to carry anything with them except their books, and the text of the Rule given by their holy Patriarch.[3] When the Saracens came, in 905, to Novalese in Piedmont, the first care of the monks, after a short prayer to the Virgin, was to run to the library. There, says the chronicle,[4] they loaded each other with manuscripts as if they were beasts of burden, and so carried them across the mountains to Turin. "Our books," said Hugh, Prior of the Chartreuse at Witham, to his monks, "are our delight and our wealth in time of peace, our offensive and defensive arms in time of war, our food when we are hungry, and our medicine when we are sick."[5] "With-

[1] BEDE, *Vit. abb.*, p. 388, ed. Giles.

[2] RICHER, book iv. c. 50, p. 642, ed. Pertz.

[3] PAUL. DIAC., *De gest. Longob.*, book iv. c. 18, ap. MURATORI, *Script.*, vol. i.

[4] Quoted by Audin, *Hist. de Léon X.*, p. 400, as being in Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.*, vol. iii. p. 187; but this is no doubt a mistake, for we have searched in vain for it.

[5] "His pro deliciis et divitiis tempore tranquillo, his bellico in procinctu pro telis et armis, his in fame pro alimonia, his in languore pro medela monachis esse memorabat."—Quoted by MABILL,, *Réflexions sur la réponse de M. de Rancé*, vol. ii. p. 139. Hugh was afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and canonised.

out study and without books, the life of a monk is nothing," said a monk of Muri.[1] Unfortunately, at a certain epoch, the price of manuscripts became so exorbitant, that the poor clerks found it impossible to acquire those which were needed for their studies. The most learned student of our École des Chartes has recently remarked, "There has not been sufficient regard paid to the services rendered by monastic libraries in such cases. The loan of books was considered as one of the most meritorious of all acts of mercy."[2] We must add, however, that to avoid doing this, some communities placed the books of their libraries under an anathema—that is to say, they forbade, under pain of excommunication, all borrowing or lending of books. But this selfish strictness, so alien to the true monastic spirit, was formally condemned in 1212 at the Council of Paris, the fathers of which urged, in touching terms, more charitable sentiments on these bibliophiles. "We forbid monks to bind themselves by any oath not to lend their books to the poor, seeing that such a loan is one of the chief works of mercy. We desire that these books should be divided into two classes—one to remain in the house for the use of the brothers, the other to be lent out to the poor, according to the judgment of the abbot."[3]

All these facts show how much instruction was valued in the middle ages. St. Maïeul of Cluny was so fond of reading, that even when he travelled on horseback he had always a book in his hand. Halinard, Abbot of St. Benigne at Dijon, and afterwards Archbishop of Lyons, one of the boldest champions of ecclesiastical liberty, had the same custom; and it was remarked that the volumes he thus read "to amuse himself" were chiefly those of the ancient philosophers.[4]

[1] "Vita omnium spiritualium hominum sine litteris nihil est."—*Acta fund Murens.*, p. 48, ap. HURTER, vol. iii. p. 576.

[2] See L. DELISLE, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, III[e] series, vol. i. p. 225.

[3] LABBE, *Sacrosancta Concilia*, vol. xi. cc. 69, 71.

[4] "In itinere positus sæpius libellos gestaret in manibus; itaque in

It is an error, therefore, to suppose that books of theology or piety alone filled the libraries of the monks. Some enemies of the religious orders have, indeed, argued that this was the case; but the proof of the contrary is evident in all documents relating to the subject.[1] The catalogues of the principal monastic libraries[2] during those centuries which historians regard as most barbarous, are still in existence; and these catalogues amply justify the sentence of the great Leibnitz, when he said, "Books and learning were preserved by the monasteries."[3]

It is acknowledged that if, on one hand, the Benedictines settled in Iceland collected the Eddas and the principal traditions of the Scandinavian mythology, on the other all the monuments of Greece and Rome which escaped the devastations of barbarians were saved by the monks of Italy, France, and Germany, and by them alone.[4] And if in some monasteries the scarcity of parchment and the ignorance of

equitando animum reficiebat legendo. . . . Philosophos vero sæcularisque sapientiæ libros tum legebat."—*Chron. S. Benig.*, in *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 392. Halinard was made archbishop in 1046.

[1] See the excellent refutation of M. Libri's thesis on this point by PÈRE CAHIER, *op. cit.*, vol. xvii. p. 355, vol. xviii. p. 31.

[2] See chiefly ZIEGELBAUER, book c. In the catalogue of Pfeffers, given by ARX, *Hist. de S. Gall.*, vol. i. p. 295, we find Homer, Theocritus, Aristotle, and all the Latin classics. It is the same with the catalogues of the libraries of Lorsch, Orbais, Corbie, Fulda, Nonantula, and other monasteries, from the seventh to the twelfth century, published by Cardinal Mai in vol. v. of his *Spicilegium Romanum*, 1841; and in those of St. Alban, St. Michael of Bamberg, Benedictbeuren, &c., to be found in ZIEGELBAUER. Pierre Diacre, *Chron. Cassin.*, book iii. c. 63, gives the list of the library of Monte Cassino in the time of Gregory VII.; nearly all the poets and historians of antiquity are comprised in it.

[3] "Constat enim libros et litteras monasteriorum ope fuisse conservatas."—*Letters to Magliabecchi.*

[4] We may enumerate, amongst others, the first five books of the *Annales* of Tacitus, found at Corbie; the treatise of Lactantius on *The Death of Persecutors*, discovered by Baluze at Moissac; the *Aulularia* of Plautus and the commentaries of Servius on Virgil, published in the sixteenth century from the Fleury MSS. We see, by a letter from Gerbert, that the *Republic* of Cicero was found in the library of Fleury in the tenth century.—ZIEGELBAUER, ii. 520.

the superiors permitted the destruction, by copyists, of a certain small number of precious works, how can we forget that without these same copyists we should possess nothing —absolutely nothing—of classic antiquity?

But the monks did not content themselves with guarding carefully and transcribing scrupulously; they studied the remains of previous civilisations with intelligence and skill. Most monastic writers made many quotations from the ancients; and it is surprising to find how familiar they were with writers whose tendency was in general so far different from their own. Lieven, the Irishman, the monastic apostle of Flanders in the seventh century, invoked the muses in verse, which he dictated during the laborious journeys destined to end in his martyrdom: he boasted of having drunk of the Castalian spring, and of knowing how to touch the Cretan lyre.[1] Alcuin enumerates among the books in the library at York the works of Aristotle, Cicero, Pliny, Virgil, Statius, Lucan, and of Trogus Pompeïus. In his correspondence with Charlemagne he quotes Ovid, Horace, Terence, and Cicero, acknowledging that in his youth he had been more moved by the tears of Dido than by the Psalms of David. The abbot Jerome of Pomposa, when he was reproached with having mingled in the library of his monastery the fables of the Gentiles with the grave theology of Christians, answered that he had wished to leave every one free to follow his taste and to exercise his faculties as he thought best.[2] In the list of books distributed to the monks of Farfa, according to a regulation of 1009, we find Titus Livius by the side of Augustine and the Venerable Bede.[3]

[1] "Et qui Castalio dicebar fonte madentem
Dictæo versu posse movere lyram;
Carmine nunc lacero dictam mihi verba Camœnæ."
—*De S. Bavonis epitaphio, Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. ii. p. 405.

[2] "Gentilium codices, fabulasque erroris . . . ut unusquisque pro studio et merito suo habeat in quibus oblectetur et proprie exerceat ingenium."
—MONTFAUCON, *Iter Italic.*, l. c.

[3] This rule applied the *Consuetudines* of Cluny to this Italian abbey.

We see in the correspondence of the pious and zealous Loup de Ferrières that he successively borrowed from his friends the treatise *De Oratore* of Cicero, a commentary on Terence, the works of Quintilian, those of Sallust, and those of Suetonius, and that he was occupied at the same time in correcting the text of the orations of Cicero against Verres, and that of Macrobius.[1] One of the most excellent monks of the eleventh century, Hermann Contractus, when on his death-bed, still dreamed of the happiness of reading and re-reading the *Hortensius* of Cicero.[2] Abbot Didier of Monte Cassino, who succeeded Gregory VII. as Pope, caused Horace and Seneca, Cicero's treatise *De Natura Deorum*, and the *Fasti* of Ovid, to be transcribed.[3] Didier's old friend, Archbishop Alfano, a monk of Monte Cassino, constantly quotes in his writings Plato, Aristotle, Varro, Cicero, Virgil, and Apuleius, and imitates Ovid and Horace in his verses.[4] St. Anselm, Abbot of Bec in the time of Gregory VII., recommended to his pupils the careful study of Virgil and other profane writers, setting aside the too licentious passages.[5] Finally, St. Peter Damian seems to have expressed the true mind of the Church when, speaking of the studies of Gregory VII. himself in pagan writers, he applies to him this passage from Exodus: "To study poets and philosophers for the purpose of rendering the wit more keen, and fitter to penetrate the mysteries of the Divine Word, is to spoil the Egyptians of their treasures in order to build a tabernacle for God." [6]

[1] See the curious polemics between Rancé and Dom Mabillon on this subject.

[2] "Per totam noctem hanc in ecstasi quadam raptus fueram, et videbar mihi, in Hortensium Tullii Ciceronis lectitando et mox relectitando vigilanter percursitare."—BERTHOLD, ann. 1054, ap. PERTZ, p. 268.

[3] *Chron. Cassin.*, book iii. c. 43.

[4] GIESEBRECHT, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[5] "Exceptis his in quibus aliqua turpitudo sonat."—*Epist.*, i. 55.

[6] "Thesaurum quippe tollit Ægyptiis, unde Deo tabernaculum construat, qui poetas et philosophos legit, quibus ad penetranda mysteria cœlestis eloquii subtilius convalescat."—B. PETRI DAM., *Opusc.*, xxxii. c. 9, p. 635. See also an important passage in the life of St. Maieul, on the

It appears, then, that the supposed ignorance of the middle ages in general,[1] and of the monks in particular, with regard to pagan antiquity,[2] has been considerably exaggerated.

An attentive study of monastic remains shows, on the contrary, that classic writers were perhaps more generally known and admired in France then than they are now. It is true that the code of morality and of politics meant for the use of Christian nations was not, as it has been since the Renaissance, drawn from these writers, and that the dangerous influence they were likely to exercise on public morals was clearly understood; but the study of the *chefs-d'œuvres* of pagan authors possessed so strong an attraction for the monks, that throughout the duration of the ages of monastic splendour, and in all Christian countries, we find that the saints and doctors were obliged to repress in the cloister the fondness of the monks for those very studies which they are accused of having despised, but which really often exercised too great a dominion over them.[3] St. Basil,[4] St. Jerome,[5]

discernment with which this Abbot of Cluny studied the ancient philosophers, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. v. p. 791. The famous passage of St. Ouën against pagan writers must not be invoked here against the opinions quoted above; for Ouën, though a pupil of the monastery of St. Médard, and founder of Orbais, was not himself a monk. Cf. OZANAM, *Études Germaniques*, vol. ii. c. 9, p. 466. It is there clearly proved that the very vehemence of the attack upon ancient writers shows how much authority they had attained.

[1] In the tenth century itself—that "dark age," *par excellence*, according to our modern doctors—they used to study, in the episcopal schools of Paderborn, Horace, Virgil, Sallust, and Statius, together with astronomy, mathematics, dialectics, and music.—*Vit. S. Meinverci*, c. 52, ap. LEIBNITZ, *Script. Brunsw.*, i. 546.

[2] See the chapters entitled *Historia studii antiquit.* and *Hist. politioris litteraturæ*, in ZIEGELBAUER, pars ii. c. 5, sect. 3, and c. 6. We have already given proofs of the Greek and Latin studies carried on at St. Gall and other places in the tenth century.

[3] It was chiefly Virgil who seemed, so to speak, to turn the heads of these pious solitaries. See several parts of the lives of Alcuin, of St. Odo (*Act. SS. O. B.*. sæc. v. p. 154), and of St. Maïeul (*ibid.*, p. 768).

[4] He approved of the reading of Homer as a book which tends to virtue, but at the same time disapproved of teaching pagan fables to the young monks.—Apud MABILL., *Réflexions*, vol. i. pp. 187, 209.

[5] "Quæ enim communicatio lucis ad tenebras? quid facit cum psalterio

St. Gregory the Great, St. Paschase Radbert,[1] Loup de Ferrières, Rathier of Verona, St. Peter Damian,[2] Lanfranc, and others, were obliged to protest against this excessive devotion to pagan literature, and to point out the dangers to morals which might arise from it.[3] These warnings and reprimands, which we find falling, century after century, from the pens of the most illustrious monks, prove at least that the use of classic authors was sufficiently common among the Benedictines to have degenerated into an abuse. Many curious facts of monastic history show clearly that this danger was by no means imaginary.[4] And there is one direction to be found in the Customs of Cluny, in the passage which prescribes the different signs to be used in asking for books during the hours of silence, which proves at once the frequency of these studies, and the small esteem in which a true monk ought to hold them. The general rule, when asking for any book, was to extend the hand, making

Horatius? cum Evangeliis Maro? cum Apostolis Cicero?"—S. HIERON., vol. i. c. 51. See also, in the epistle to Eustochius, the famous vision of the judgment which awaited him in the other world, where the heavenly Judge reproaches him for being, not a Christian, but a Ciceronian.

[1] "Miror . . . quod non velint mystica Dei sacramenta ea diligentia perscrutari qua tragœdiarum nœnias et poetarum figmenta sudantes cupiunt investigare labore."—*In præf.*, lib. iii. in *Matth.*

[2] "Parvi pedentes regulam Benedicti, regulis gaudentes vacare Damnati."—*Opusc.*, xiii.

[3] St. Augustine in his *Confessions* (vol. i. c. 12), St. Gregory the Great in his letter to Bishop Desiderius (book ix. p. 18), and Lanfranc, all speak, not only against the abuse, but even against the use, of pagan authors. Maitland, in his work already quoted, has recited most of the monastic inhibitions relative to this subject (*The Dark Ages*, No. 11, p. 175, &c.). M. Ozanam has also given some valuable indications in his excellent work on *les Sources poétiques de la divine Comédie.* See *le Correspondant*, vol. ix. p. 514, and the *Études Germaniques*, vol. ii. p. 338, where this eminent writer has treated the subject thoroughly and with his accustomed mastery.

[4] See a curious passage in the *Chronicles of St. Riquier*, c. 13, in D'ACHERI, *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 338. There is also an important poem of St. Alfano, a monk of Monte Cassino in the eleventh century, against the excessive study of Aristotle and Plato at the monastery of Casaurio. —Ap. GIESEBRECHT, book c. p. 32.

motions as if turning over the leaves; but in order to indicate a pagan work, the monks were directed to scratch their ear as a dog does—because, says the regulation, unbelievers may well be compared to that animal.[1] In the same spirit, two German monks, apologists of Gregory VII., placed the following inscription at the head of a treatise addressed by them, in 1076, to a learned contemporary: "To Dom Bernard, who, to the great profit of his soul and of his auditors, has given up the frivolous lyre of Horace for the mystic harp of David."[2]

To return to the constant transcription of manuscripts, which fed and multiplied the cloister libraries, it is not sufficiently known how laborious and meritorious a work this really was. Its character was such, that it was regarded by monastic rules and usages as completely equivalent to that manual labour, that rude agricultural toil, by which the Benedictines brought great part of Europe into cultivation, and which constituted, as every one knows, one of the strictest obligations of all the rules. St. Martin imposed no other task on his disciples.[3] Cassiodorus—that great man, who, after having been minister to four or five kings, ended his life in a monastery founded by himself—settled the rules of the art of copying in his treatise *De Orthographia*, where he recommends this work in preference to all others,[4] while at the same time teaching the first

[1] "Pro generali signo libri, extende manum, et move sicut folium libri moveri solet . . . pro signo libri sæcularis, quem aliquis paganus fecit, præmisso generali signo libri, adde ut aurem tangas digito sicut canis cum pede pruriens solet, quia nec immerito infideles tali animanti comparantur."—MARTÈNE, *De Antiq. Monach. ritibus*, l. v. c. 18, p. 289.

[2] "D. Bernardo . . . non jam nugacem lyram Horatii, sed mysticam citharam David fructuosius sibi et suis auditoribus amplexanti."—*Epist.* ADALBERTI *et* BERNALDI, *de Damnat. Schismat.*, ap. USSERMAN, *Prodromus Germaniæ sacræ*, vol. ii. p. 214.

[3] SULPIT. SEVER., *Vit. S. Martini*, c. 7.

[4] See the admirable extract given by PÈRE CAHIER, *op. cit.*, vol. xviii. p. 148. There were caligraphers among the monks of the Thebaïd who excelled all others in austerity.—PALLAD., c. 39, *Hist. Lauriac.*, ap. Rosweyde.

elements of that art of binding, the productions of which are now so anxiously sought for. He desired that the workers should learn to ornament manuscripts, so that the beauty of the holy writings might be set off by the splendour of a rich cover, and so realise, as it were, the parable of our Lord, who, when He called His elect to the heavenly feast, would have them robed in wedding garments. St. Ferréol says expressly in his Rule, written in the sixth century, that "he who does not turn up the earth with the plough ought to paint the parchment with his fingers."[1]

We find, also, that the most illustrious monks did not disdain this kind of labour as a penitential exercise: St. Jerome, St. Eustace, Abbot of Luxeuil, the Venerable Bede, Rabanus Maurus, Lanfranc,[2] and a crowd of other holy and learned abbots, transcribed sometimes their own works, and sometimes those of others.[3] This work was nowhere more carefully or zealously organised than in the great German abbey of Hirschau, in the eleventh century. The Abbot Frederic himself took his place in the *scriptorium*, where a number of monks were occupied in copying.[4] His successor, William of Hirschau, had chosen from among the brothers twelve excellent caligraphers, to whom he intrusted specially the transcribing of the sacred books and of the Fathers. Others, whose number was unlimited, copied works of less importance.[5] It was a real penance—for the men of the

[1] "Paginam pingat digito qui terram non proscindit aratro."—C. 28.

[2] The library of Mans possesses a MS. of the *Hexameron* of St. Ambrose corrected by Lanfranc during his residence with the Benedictines of that town. At the end of the MS. may be read, in the great man's own hand, "*Lanfrancus ego correxi.*"

[3] See the many examples collected by MABILL., *Traité des études*, p. 36; *Réflexions sur la réponse de Rancé*, vol. ii. p. 95.

[4] Between 1061 and 1069.—V. TRITHEM., *Ann. Hirsaug.*, p. 214; GERBERT, *Hist. Nig. Silv.*, i. 162.

[5] "Duodecim e monachis suis scriptores optimos instituit, quibus ut divinæ auctoritatis libros et SS. Patrum tractatus rescriberent, demandavit. Erant præter hos et alii scriptores sine certo numero, qui pari diligentia scribendis voluminibus impendebant."—TRITHEMIUS, p. 229.

middle ages, monks or not, had little fondness for a sedentary life; they could only give themselves up to it by putting a perpetual constraint upon their habits and their nature. But the example of so many excellent persons, of so many great men, and, above all, the holy virtue of obedience, attached the monks to this fatiguing duty. More than one avowal, slipping from the pen of laborious copyists, betrays at once the hardness of the trial and the merit of the sacrifice. A monk of St. Gall has left these lines, traced on a corner of one of the beautiful manuscripts belonging to the abbey: "He who does not know how to write imagines it to be no labour; but though three fingers only hold the pen, the whole body grows weary."[1]

There were no fires in the cells of the monks, and during the long hours of day and night they had to bear the severest cold.[2] We cannot, therefore, read, without emotion, the few lines placed by the monk Louis of Wissobrunn at the end of the commentary of St. Jerome on the Book of Daniel: "Good readers who may use this work, do not, I

[1] "Qui nescit scribere non putat esse laborem: tres enim digiti scribunt, totum corpus laborat."—EADBERT., in *Cod. MS. S. Gallens*, No. 243, ap. ARX, vol. i. p. 87.

[2] "Ex hoc dum, lector bone, fructum codice carpis,
Qui fuerit scriptor interdum, quæso, memor sis:
Pauper et exiguus huic nomen erat Ludovicus.
Sedibus externis hic librum quem modo cernis,
Dum scripsit, friguit, et quod cum lumine solis
Scribere non putuit, perfecit lumine noctis:
Sis Deus istorum merces condigna laborum."
—(PEZ, *Thesaur. Anecd. noviss. Dissert. Isag.*, vol. ii. p. 913.)

M. de Montalembert has written in pencil on the margin of the interleaved volume which we are using for this edition the following lines: "Here should be placed the delicious inscription quoted by M. L. Delisle, and transcribed on a separate sheet, *Carlov. studia B.*" We have vainly sought for this separate sheet; but the second volume of the learned work entitled *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, contains several inscriptions relative to copyists, and no doubt the one which struck the illustrious historian of the "Monks of the West" was among these. Here are the verses traced at the bottom of a Gospel book of the eleventh

pray you, forget him who copied it: it was a poor brother named Louis, who, while he transcribed this volume, brought from a foreign country, endured the cold, and was obliged to finish in the night what he was not able to write by daylight. But Thou, Lord, wilt be to him the full recompense of his labours."

These humble copyists worked in silence, and with unfailing assiduity. Thus, twelve young monks in the reformed monastery of St. Martin at Tournay, laboured with so much zeal in copying the manuscripts collected or borrowed by Raoul their prior, that very soon no abbey of the Nether-

century, classed among the Latin MSS. in the National Library under No. 11,960:—

"Nauta rudis pelagi ut sævis ereptus ab undis,
In portum veniens, pectora læta tenet:
Sic scriptor fessus, calamum sub calce laboris
Deponens, habeat pectora læta quidem.
Ille Deo dicat grates pro sospite vita;
Proque laboris agat iste sui requie.
Mercedes habeat Christo donante per ævum
Ille qui hunc librum scribere jussit. Amen."

In a sacrament book inscribed under No. 12,050 of the Latin collection, the copyist, who was called Rodrade, and was ordained priest in 853 by Hilmeralde, Bishop of Amiens, invokes, in these words, the prayers of the priests who should make use of his book:—

"Ego Rotradus, misericordia Dei indigens, victus Hilmeraldi antistitis jussionibus, victusque episcopalis auctoritatis excommunicationibus, IIII. Nonas Martii, sacerdotalis ministerii trepidus suscepi officium, anno incarnationis Domini DCCCLIII., indictione I., epacta VII., concurrente VII., termino paschali IV. Kalendas aprilis. Quicumque hanc ordinationis meæ adnotatiunculum legeris, et per hanc codicem dominici corporis consecrationem recitaveris, tuis, quæso, precibus adjutus dicatum Christi exhibere sacerdotium et supernæ visionis consequi merear bravium.

. . . . . .

"Te quoque suppliciter, Christi benedicte sacerdos,
Codicis istius frueris qui forsitan usu,
Inter sacrorum solemnia sis memor ipse,
Posco, mei, precibusque Deum mihi conciliato
Obsequio cujus cœlestia munera libas."

At the end of another Latin manuscript bearing the No. 12,296, the characters of which belong to the Carlovingian epoch, we read an inscrip-

lands possessed a more extensive library;[1] and thus also worked Othlo, a monk of Tegernsee and St. Emmeran, of about the same time, who has left us a startling enumeration of his productions, among which are nineteen missals written with his own hand, and which nearly cost him his sight.[2] Thus, even supposing, as ill-informed authors have done, that the monks undertook this work merely to beguile their idle hours, how can we refuse to admire men who, according to the just observation of a modern writer, must have undertaken, by way of recreation or pastime, a work to which the most skilful of copyists needed to devote so many days and nights?[3]

tion in which the scribe, named Garembert, begs the reader, who perhaps does not suspect the difficulty of the copyist's art, to take care not to efface the letters with his fingers: "Amice qui legis, retro digitos teneas, ne subito litteras deleas . . . sicut navigantibus dulcis est portus, ita scriptori novissimus versus."

At the head of a martyrology written in the twelfth century, is pictured a monk on his knees offering a book to St. Peter, and the painting is accompanied by this inscription:—

"In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis. Ego, frater Nevelo, hujus sancti cenobii Corbeiensis alumnus, in sancto habitu constitutus, sed conscientiæ sarcina utcumque peragravatus, hunc libellum, propriis sumptibus elaboratum et propria manu prout potui descriptum, obtuli domino et patroni nostro beatissimo Petro apostolo."

The frontispiece to the rule of St. Benedict in the same manuscript represents Brother Nevelo prostrate at the feet of the saint; then, at the end of an abridged martyrology which concludes the volume, the good monk has placed the following notice: "Quicumque lector hic legerit, hoc deesse non ignorantia Nevelonis sed detruncatione folii exemplaris. Qui vero alio repperit hoc quod hic deest, huic paginæ caritatis amore inserere procuret. Quicumque nos tenes sive legis, scito domnum Nevelonem nos ad hoc scripsisse ut nos adjungamur libro de capitulo ab eodem Nevelone composito."

At the bottom of the page is this recommendation: "O lector, memento Nevelonis qui prout potuit ad compendium legentium nec [non] caritative scripsit. Amen!"—V. L. DELISLE, *Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale*, vol. ii. pp. 111–121.

[1] "*Narratio restaurationis*," &c., in *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 913.

[2] Apud PEZ, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. p. x.; MABILL., *Analect.*, vol. iv. p. 448, fol. ed. Othlo was born in 1013.

[3] "Da que' monaci, che molti filosofi nel nostro secolo si han fatto legge

We must remember, moreover, that this kind of recreation, or rather this excess of fatigue, was not only justified but sanctified among monks by the spiritual end for which they worked. Ozanam reminds us that in the Abbey of Fulda an inscription in verse, written over the door of the Scriptorium, exhorted them to multiply books, taking care to reproduce the texts carefully, and not to deface them by frivolous inscriptions.[1] From the commencement, Cassiodorus had defined the true aim of literary work, and, above, all, of that work of transcription, to which the monks devoted their time. "What a happy invention," he says, "and what glorious labour, is that which enables us to preach to men by the hands as well as by the voice; to use our fingers in place of our tongues; to place ourselves in relation with the rest of the world without breaking silence; and to combat with pen and ink the lawless suggestions of the devil! for each word of Holy Scripture written by the studious monk is a wound given to Satan. . . . A reed shaped into a pen, as it glides over the page and traces the Divine Word there, repairs, as it were, the wrong done by that other reed with which, on the day of the Passion, the devil caused the head of the Lord to be struck."[2] It is certain that the lowly sons of St. Benedict made no pretensions whatever to the title of *savants* or pedagogues; such was neither their mission, their intention, nor their duty.

di sprezzare . . . facease per modo di riposo, di sollievo e per indulgenza, cio che la pigrizia e molezza nostra riguarde como occupazione si seria e si grave," &c.—DENINA, *delle Rivoluz. d'Italia*, vol. iii. p. 265. Maitland proposes to the English *savants* who speak contemptuously of monkish idleness, to begin by making an exact copy of the works of Bacon, or any other rather voluminous writer, so that they may get a practical idea of this pretended idleness.—*The Dark Ages*, p. 417.

[1] OZANAM, *loc. cit.*, ii. 501.

[2] "Felix inventio, laudanda sedulitas, manu hominibus prædicare, digitis linguas aperire, salutem mortalibus tacitum dare, et contra diaboli surreptiones illicitas calamo atramentoque pugnare! Tot enim vulnera Satanas accipit, quot antiquarius Domini verba describit. . . . Arundine currente verba cœlestia describantur, ut unde diabolus caput Domini in passione fecit percuti," &c.—*De Instit. divin. Script.*, vol. ii. c. 7.

The words employed at the consecration of the Scriptorium, or transcribing room, show sufficiently the object and spirit of their work. "Deign, Lord, to bless the Scriptorium of Thy servants, that all which they write there may be comprehended by their intelligence, and realised in their works."[1] All that monks have done for learning, then, was but a work of supererogation; it was out of the surplus of their time, their powers, and their zeal that they gave this alms to posterity. Consequently, we may boldly affirm that the most learned men the world ever saw, became so only by accident. They studied—so said, a thousand years after Cassiodorus, the most learned seventeenth-century monk, Dom Mabillon[2]—they studied, not in order to become learned, but that they might be more capable of practising their duties as monks. Their monasteries were not "academies of science," but "schools of Jesus Christ."[3] Thus they reconciled the love of study with the renunciation of all literary and merely human glory; for, to borrow again the language of Mabillon, it is quite possible to despise earthly knowledge, and yet to make it profitable to holiness and virtue; just as one can make use of wealth to subsist and to give alms, even while contemning it as a Christian and as a monk. Thus the Benedictines kept themselves for twelve centuries midway between two extreme and erroneous opinions,—one which proclaimed study and learning useless and even hurtful to true monks;[4] and the other, which would

[1] "Benedicere digneris, Domine, hoc scriptorium famulorum tuorum, ut quidquid scriptum fuerit, sensu capiant, opere perficiant."—D'ACHERY, in *not. oper. Guibert. novig.*

[2] *Réflexions sur la réponse de l'abbé de la Trappe*, vol. i. p. 47.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

[4] The celebrated Rancé was the chief promoter of this paradox, so admirably refuted by Mabillon in his *Treatise on Monastic Studies* and in the *Reflections on the Answer of M. l'Abbé de la Trappe:* Paris, 1693, in 12mo. This latter book is a model of style, and of moderate, noble, and conclusive discussion. It is the *chef-d'œuvre* of Christian polemics. It deserves to be reckoned among the finest literary productions of the seventeenth century.

allow to monks no other mission than that of being *savants*, writers, or commentators.[1] We may remind those who still hold this last error, of the beautiful prayer of St. Autbert, Abbot of St. Vincent at Volturna in Italy, at the end of his commentary on the Apocalypse:—

"May it please Thee, O Lord, to grant me, together with learning, the study and practice of virtue! But if I have not the happiness to possess both, I prefer to pass for a fool rather than for a learned man without goodness. For indeed I have quitted my country and my family, not to obtain from Thee the gift of knowledge, but rather that by Thee I may be led to eternal life by the road of perfect virtue. I have no wish to change this; if I do not deserve both knowledge and goodness, take knowledge, I pray Thee, away from me, so that Thou mayst leave me the fruits of goodness."[2]

But we must abridge. If we were not bound to do so, how delightful would it be to follow so many illustrious monks in the long and laborious journeys which they often undertook for love of learning, from the distant times of St. Ildephonso of Seville[3] and St. Adson of Vienna,[4] up to those of Mabillon and Montfaucon, of Quirini and Pez, whose pilgrimages offer the material for perhaps one of the most animated and profitable chapters of literary history![5]

[1] It is an illusion of certain persons who wrote in the previous century that monasteries were first established only to serve as schools and public academies, where the teaching of worldly knowledge was made a profession.—MABILLON, *Traité des études monastiques*, part i. c. i.

[2] "Neque enim ideo patriam parentesque reliqui, ut mihi scientiæ dona largireris; set ut perfectione virtutum ad vitam æternam perduceres. Nolo certe hanc commutationem. Quod si utraque non mereor, doctrinam scilicet atque operationem: aufer, quæso, doctrinam, tantum ut tribuas operationem virtutum."—Quoted by MABILLON, *Traité*, p. 8.

[3] In the seventh century.—MABILL., *Annal.*, book xxiii. c. 37.

[4] *Ibid.*, book xxiii. p. 163.

[5] There are few more interesting narratives than the *Voyage littéraire des deux Bénédictins*, DD. Martène and Durand, from 1700 to 1710. This journey gives an idea of what the literary pilgrimages of their predecessors must have been. Ziegelbauer has collected some valuable details on this subject (pars i. c. 5), which are well completed by the *Cor-*

How pleasant would it be to enumerate in detail the services rendered by the indefatigable zeal of the monks to all branches of human knowledge: to theology, in which so many controversialists and missionaries have distinguished themselves; to canon law and civil law, the first collectors of which, Denys the Little and Reginald of Prüm, Burkhard of Worms and Gratien, author of the famous *Decretal*, were all monks, as well as Marculphus and Antegesius, the editors of the Capitularies; to medicine, constantly practised and taught in cloisters from the time of St. Benedict to that of St. Bernard,[1] and endowed by the monks of Monte Cassino with the famous school of Salerno;[2] to astronomy and mathematics, cultivated by so many holy monks;[3] finally, to philosophy, which, to quote one of its most learned historians, had for eight centuries no other asylum than the family of St. Benedict![4]

This task, already accomplished by Ziegelbauer, would surpass our limits; but before quitting the vast subject of the scientific and literary activity of monks, we cannot help alluding to the important services they have rendered to history.

On this ground we may fearlessly affirm that they are without rivals; and people in general are willing to acknowledge that it is so. The idea of the most solid and laborious historical researches, allies itself readily in most

respondance of Mabillon and Montfaucon during their travels in Italy, lately published by M. VALERY. See also the *Iter Italicum* of Mabillon, the *Iter Alemannicum* of Gerbert, &c.

[1] See the numerous and conclusive examples collected by Ziegelbauer, pars ii. c. iii. sect. 3, *Hist. medicinæ prout inter Benedictinos exultæ.*

[2] That is to say, the Abbot Didier, Archbishop Alfano of Salerno, and the monk Constantine the African—all monks of Monte Cassino.

[3] Cassiodorus, Gerbert, Notker Labeo, Adelbold, Hermannus Contractus, &c.

[4] "Quæ philosophia in cœnobiorum secessus his temporibus majori ex parte coacta est aufugere, S. Benedicti familia una fere et tota, usque ad Scholasticorum tempora eruditionis possessionem et *publice tradendi* munus sibi vindicavit."—BRUCKER, *Hist. philosoph.*, vol. iii. p. 556.

minds with the idea of the Benedictines; but too often this homage is paid only to the congregation of St. Maur, and other modern monks who have filled our libraries with their excellent collections. This, however, is not enough: justice ought to be done to the ancient monks, who, from the foundation of their order, neglected no effort for regulating and preserving the annals of Christian nations;[1] for we should not forget that it was these ancient monastic chroniclers who, by their numerous and unwearied labours, furnished to Mabillon, Pez, D'Achery, Martène, Calmet, and so many other illustrious Benedictines of the two last centuries, the principal materials for those precious compilations to which, without abandoning their usual modesty, their editors may so justly give the name of *Treasuries*.[2] It is owing to these monks of the middle ages that we are acquainted with the history of six or seven centuries, which, without their writings, would have remained completely unknown to us, and which embrace the period when all the nations of Europe took their rise. Thus, not content with having preserved for us the remains of pagan antiquity, the monks have bequeathed to us the memorials of our own origin in two series of works which have immortalised their laborious exactitude—their *Annals* or *Chronicles*, arranged in chronological order, and their biographies of saints and other famous persons.

[1] Any one who will glance at the really startling enumeration of monastic historians of all countries given by Ziegelbauer (pars iv. pp. 319–626), will be confounded by the number and importance of their works.

[2] *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* of D. MARTÈNE and D. DURAND, 1717, 9 vols. folio; *Thesaurus anecdotorum novissimus* of D. BERNARD PEZ, *Aug. Vindel.*, 1729–31, 6 vols. folio. See in the *Preuves* of the History of Bretagne by DOM MORICE (vol. i. p. 243) the curious passage where the author of the *Actes de l'abbaye de Redon* compares himself to a labourer who cuts down forests, burns the tree-trunks, &c.: "Primitus silvas excidit, truncos incendit; postea aratrum bene aptat, terram aperit, sulcos dirigit: dehinc domum revertitur nec multo post ipsam terram cœquat, deinde semina ex ordine jactat. . . . Ita et nos similiter," &c. This passage was quoted by M. de la Borderie in his discourse on the Saints of Bretagne, pronounced at the Breton Congress of 1848.

Even those who did not compose books expressly historical, have left us in their cartularies the only documents by the help of which the archæologist can resolve the most important problems relating to the social, civil, domestic, and agricultural life of our ancestors.[1] Thanks to their strongly conservative spirit, their libraries serve for the archives of states, of churches, and of families.

All Christian nations may join in the testimony which an English Protestant did not fear to give in their honour, even in presence of the Puritans of the sixteenth century. "Without the monks, we should have been as ignorant of our own history as children."[2] England, converted by monks, has special reason to be proud of the historians furnished by her abbeys. One monk, Gildas, has painted with fiery touches the misery of Great Britain after the departure of the Romans.[3] To another, the Venerable Bede, author of the *Ecclesiastical History of Britain*,[4] we owe the detailed account of the Catholic renaissance under the

[1] "Their cartularies are the most curious monuments of the history of the time," says M. C. GIRAUD, *Recherches sur la Bretagne*, p. 579. Among these remains, daily quoted by learned men of all countries, we may remark the cartularies of several Breton abbeys at the end of the *Histoires* of D. Lobineau and D. Morice; those of different Burgundian houses in PÉRARD; and, above all, the *Polyptique* of the Abbot IRMINON of St. Germain des Prés, recently edited by M. GUÉRARD: the *cartularies of St. Père de Chartres* and of *St. Bertin*, by the same editor; and that of the *St. Trinité* of Rouen, by M. DEVILLE, in the Collection of Unpublished Documents published by the Ministry of Public Instruction. That of St. Bertin was finished by Folcuin, a monk, in 948, and fourth in descent from Charles Martel. Let us hope that the publication of the valuable *Cartulaire de Redon*, long since prepared by the learned historiographer of Bretagne, M. Aurélien de Courson, will soon appear, to increase our store of this kind of riches.

[2] "Absque monachis, nos sane in historiâ patriâ semper essemus pueri. . . . De monachorum fide non est quod ambigamus; cum illi res tantum suas tractent, sibique notissimas."—JOAN. MARSHAM, *Προπύλαιον*, in *Monastic. Anglican.*, vol. i. ad finem.

[3] *De Excidio Britannorum:* Londini, 1586.

[4] *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum;* it extends to 731. Bede died 735. See the notice by the new English editor, the Rev. J. A. GILES, in vol. ii. of the complete edition of the works of Bede, in 12 vols. 8vo, 1843.

Saxons. The exactness of his learning, and the empire which he exercised through his writings over the middle ages, may justly entitle Bede to be regarded as the father of Catholic history. After him Ingulphus, abbot of Croyland,[1] and Ordericus Vitalis, a monk of Shrewsbury,[2] have left us the most faithful, the most impartial, and the most animated picture of the struggle between the Saxons and Normans, and the vicissitudes of the Church of England at the same period. Their writings, an inexhaustible mine of information as to the manners, laws, and ideas of their times, join the attractiveness of biography to the importance of history.

France is not less rich. According to a tradition which is not without authority, her oldest historian, and one of the noblest personages in her ancient Church, St. Gregory of Tours, belonged to a monastic order.[3] After him a long series of monk-historians, each day more valued among us, successively laid the first stones of the great edifice of our annals. Abbon, a monk of St. Germain des Prés, wrote the history of the wars of King Eudes, and also that of the siege of Paris by the Normans, of which he himself was an eye-witness.[4] At St. Rémy at Reims, the annals of the tenth century were drawn up with conscientious care, first by Abbot Frodoard,[5] a poet, and renowned for his learning;

[1] *Historia Croylandensis*, ap. GALE, *Script. rer. Anglic.*, vol. i. His history extends to 1091. He died in 1109.

[2] *Historia ecclesiastica*, in DUCHESNE'S collection, *Scriptor. hist. normann.*, 1619. M. Leprévost is publishing a new and excellent edition, three volumes of which have appeared. This history reaches to 1141.

[3] This is the opinion of Trithemius and Ziegelbauer; but *haud constat*, says Mabillon, *Annal.*, book viii. c. 62.

[4] We have already said that this Abbon, surnamed *Cernuus*, must be distinguished from the holy martyr Abbon, Abbot of Fleury at the end of the tenth century, and author of an *Epitome de vitis Roman. Pontificum.*

[5] Frodoard, born in 894, was still living in 966. He was author of the *History of Reims* and of *Annales*, which extend from 919 to 966. Mabillon sees in him *præcipuum decimi sæculi ornamentum*, and proves that he was a

and later by the monk Richer, whose history, recently discovered, has been hailed with so much delight by modern students.[1] The work of these two illustrious monks of St. Rémy is continued and completed by Helgaud[2] and Aimoin,[3] both monks of Fleury; by Oderan, monk of St. Peter le Vif at Sens;[4] and by Adhémar de Chabanais, monk of St. Cybar at Angoulême.[5] Raoul Glaber, one of our most valuable annalists, was a monk of St. Germain d'Auxerre; he wrote the *History of his own Time*,[6] in obedience to the commands of St. Odilon, Abbot of Cluny, and of William, Abbot of St. Boniface, and also in answer to the entreaties of the studious monks of Cluny, who were distressed to see that no one took the trouble to transmit to posterity the events of a century not less important for the Church than

monk.—*Annal.*, vol. iii. book xliii. c. 10. His epitaph, in old French, shows that he was also an abbot:—

"Vequit caste clercq, bon moine, milleu abbé."

M. Pertz, the most learned historiographer of Germany, calls him "insignis historiarum scriptor."—*Monum. hist. Scriptores*, vol. iii. p. 366.

[1] Richer's history, from 880 to 995, has been found at Bamberg in 1833 by M. Pertz, and published first by him in vol. iii. of his *Scriptores*; afterwards by M. Gaudet for the Historical Society of France, in 2 vols., with translation, 1845–46.

[2] Author of the life of King Robert.

[3] Died in 1008; author of the *Vie du saint martyr Abbon* and of *Recueil des miracles de saint Benoît à Fleury*, where are found a number of curious facts of contemporary history. See the collection of DUCHESNE, and that of D. BOUQUET. Aimoir, who wrote the four books of the *Gesta rerum Francorum*, where he abridges, with intelligence and sagacity, the narratives of Gregory of Tours, of Fredegarius, and of other older writers, adds many valuable traditions, probably borrowed from the epic songs of his time.

[4] MABILLON, *Annal.*, ad 1022.

[5] "Ex prænobili Cabanensi familia."—MABILL., ad 1018. He was born toward 988, and died in 1028 on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. His history reaches to 1025; it was first published by P. LABBE in his *Biblioth. nov. manuscr.*, and then republished entire, and with great praise, by PERTZ in the fourth volume of his *Scriptores*.

[6] In five books, from the accession of Hugh Capet to 1046.—Ap. DUCHESNE, vol. iv.

for the people.[1] Finally, Hugh, Abbot of Flavigny, has given us, with more detail than any one else, the whole history of the eleventh century.[2] These various monkish chronicles have served as a basis for the first national and popular monuments of our history, the famous *Chronicles of St. Denys*, which, written very early in Latin, translated into French in the beginning of the thirteenth century, and containing the very essence of the historic and poetic traditions of old France, specially helped to establish before the eyes of kings and of their chief vassals, the tribunal of posterity.

Italy offers nearly the same spectacle and the same resources. Anastasius the librarian, the most eminent historian of the Papacy, was a monk.[3] The first volumes of Muratori's[4] great collection are filled with monkish chronicles, invaluable sources for the study of the origin of Italian nationality, especially those of the Abbey of St. Vincent at Volturna,[5] of Novalese, of Farfa,[6] and of Casa Aurio.[7] Monte Cassino, as befitted the mother abbey of the West, was a nursery of distinguished historians: thence came Johannes Diaconus,[8] the biographer of St. Gregory the Great, and Paulus Diaconus, the friend of Charlemagne, and historian of the Lombards;[9] then Leo, Cardinal-Bishop of Ostia, first author of the famous Chronicle of Monte Cassino; and, finally, Petrus Diaconus, the continuer of Leo, who finished this important work, placed by *savants* in

[1] "Tam in Ecclesiis Dei quam in plebibus."—RAD. GLABER, in *Vit. S. Hugon.*, c. 27, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*

[2] His history ends in 1102; it was published by LABBE, *ubi supra*. Cf. *Hist. littér. de la France*, vol. x. p. 81.

[3] Abbot of *St. Maria in Transtevere*, under Nicholas I. Cf. ZIEGELBAUER and MURATORI, *Script.*, vol. iii. pars i. p. v.

[4] *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores ab anno* 500 *ad ann.* 1500, 24 vols. folio.

[5] *Chronicon Vulturnense*, from 703 to 1071.

[6] From 681 to 1104.

[7] From 866 to 1182.

[8] He lived at Rome under John VIII., and in the time of Charlemagne.

[9] PAULI VARNEFRIDI DIACONI, *de Gestis Longobardorum*, libri vi., ap. MURAT., vol. i. pars ii.

the first rank of historical writings of the middle ages.[1] Another monk of Monte Cassino, Amato,[2] related the wonderful story of the conquests gained by the Norman chivalry in the Two Sicilies—a story reproduced and completed by the Sicilian monk Geoffrey Malaterra."[3]

As to Germany, thanks to her Benedictines, she seems, even from these early times, to have merited the crown of historic learning, which she has so gloriously won in our days.[4] Eginard, Theganus, Nithardus, and, above all, Rodolphus of Fulda, from whom we derive all we know in detail of the destinies of the Carlovingians, belonged to Monastic Orders. Among the historians of Charlemagne was a monk of St. Gall;[5] and the memoirs of that illustrious abbey,[6] successively drawn up by the most distinguished monks, generally contemporary with the events they relate, have left us the most sincere and most picturesque representation of their epoch. The ninth century

[1] Leo, called *Marsicanus*, from his native province, and of *Ostia*, on account of his bishopric, died in 1112. Charged by Abbot Odorisio to write the history of the abbey, he composed the two first books and the thirty-five first chapters of the third book, which bring the reader up to 1086. Petrus Diaconus, a Roman sprung from the Counts of Tusculum, and librarian of the abbey, composed the last chapters of the third book, and the whole of the fourth: he left off in 1138, and died in 1140, at the age of thirty-three. Mabillon says he does not deserve the same confidence as Leo. Muratori has given the best edition of this chronicle, with the notes of the Abbot Angelo de Noce, in vol. iv. of his collection.

[2] M. Champollion-Figeac published, in 1833, for the French Historical Society, a version, in the French of the thirteenth century, of this important history, which was believed to be lost. It is the oldest authority for the account of the rise of the Norman power in Italy. In his introduction the learned editor has clearly proved that the true author of this history was Amato, a monk of Monte Cassino, afterwards Bishop of Nusco, who died in 1093.

[3] MURATORI, *Script.*, vol. v.

[4] See the innumerable monastic chronicles in all the German collections of *Scriptores*, chiefly those of Eckard, Pez, Leibnitz, Canisius, Freher, Pistorius, Mencken, Œfel, &c.

[5] *De Gestis Caroli Magni, libri II., scripti a quodam monacho S. Galli*, anno 884, ap. CANISIUM, *Thesaur. Mon.*, ed. Basnag., vol. ii.

[6] *De Casibus S. Galli.*

had an excellent historian in Regino, Abbot of Prüm.[1] The Abbey of Lobbes, in Belgium, produced three annalists of great merit: Abbot Folcuin, who wrote the history of his predecessors; Abbot Heriger, who composed that of the Bishops of Liège;[2] and the monk Adelbod, afterwards Bishop of Liège, biographer of the Emperor Henry II.[3] The reigns of Henry I. and Otho the Great were chronicled with ability and honesty by Witikind, a monk of Corvey, who for forty years directed the school of this great monastery.[4] Ditmar, a noble Saxon, first monk of Magdebourg and then Bishop of Mersebourg, has left us the most detailed chronicle we possess on the period of the emperors of the house of Saxony.[5]

In the first rank of the eleventh-century historians, we find Hermannus Contractus, son of the Count of Woringen, brought up at St. Gall, and a monk at Reichenau.[6] He is one of the most interesting and attractive personages of his period, as humble as he is learned, severe towards himself, indulgent to others, an eloquent teacher, an unwearied student, inimitably patient, an earnest defender of orthodoxy and rule, and all in spite of terrible infirmities. He was much sought after, on account of his profound and varied learning, by many pupils from all countries, and was passionately loved by his brother monks, whom the extreme

[1] His chronicle, inserted in the collection of Pistorius, ends in 905. He died in 908.

[2] *Gest. pontif. Leodiens.*, ap. CHAPEAUVILLE, vol. i. He died in 1007.

[3] He died in 1027. He was an astronomer as well as a historian, and was also author of a *Libellus de ratione inveniendi crassitudinem sphæræ*, ap. PEZ, *Thes. Anecd.*, vol. iii. p. 2.

[4] His *Res gestæ Saxonicæ* and *Vita Othonis I.* have been published by MEIBOM, *Scriptores*, vol. i.

[5] It extends from 920 to 1018.—Ap. LEIBNITZ, *Script. rer. Brunswic.*

[6] "Ex nobilissima Alamannorum prosapia ortus."—PERTZ, vol. v. p. 67. He died in 1054, aged forty-one. See his chronicle in PERTZ and elsewhere; his life in USSERMANN, *Germaniæ sacræ prodromus*, vol. i. p. 145; and the touching eulogy of his successor in his work, BERTHOLD, ap. PERTZ and USSERMANN, confirmed by STENZEL, *Geschichte der fränkischen Kaiser*, i. 138; ii. 99.

gentleness of his character completely subjugated.[1] He, however, together with all other contemporary writers, was eclipsed as a historian by Lambert of Aschaffenbourg, monk of Hersfeld, who drew the picture of the great struggle between the Church and the Empire[2] with an authority and impartiality no one has ever dared to question.[3] This history was continued and developed in the interest of the Church by Berthold of Reichenau, Bernold of St. Blaise,[4] and Ekkehard, Abbot of Aurach;[5] and later, under the influence of the imperialists, by Sigebert of Gemblours, a monk remarkable for his fervour and devotion to his rule, in spite of his notorious partiality for the enemies of the Church.[6]

[1] "Auditoribus suis eloquens et sedulus dogmatistes . . . humillimæ caritatis et caritativæ humilitatis executor industrius, miræ custos patientiæ . . . integerrimæ fidei orator vere catholicus, veritatis assertor et defensor invictissimus . . . qui ab infantia nunquam carnes manducaret. . . . Miræ benevolentiæ, affabilitatis, jocunditatis, et humanitatis omnifariæ conatu sese omnibus morigerum et aptum exhibens, utpote omnibus omnia factus, ab omnibus amabatur. Iniquitatis autem et injustitiæ, et totius pravitatis, vel quicquid contra Deum aversator et impugnator fit, indefessus adusque finem vitæ feliciter perduravit."—BERTHOLD, ap PERTZ, vol. v. p. 267.

[2] It ends in 1007, after the interview of Canossa.

[3] See the testimony rendered by the Protestants Stenzel and Pertz (*Script.*, vol. v. p. 146). There is a good dissertation on him, entitled *Comparatio critica Lamb. Schafn. Annal. cum aliquot ejusdem ævi chron.*, auct. P. FRISCH., Monachii, 1830.

[4] This historian is often confounded with Berthold, monk of Reichenau, pupil and successor of Hermannus Contractus; but his separate existence has been clearly proved by D. Gerbert in the preface to vol ii. of the *Prodromus Germaniæ sacræ* of USSERMANN (1792), and by PERTZ (*Script.* vol. v. p. 385), who first of all published the text of this valuable chronicle from the MS. in the library at Munich.

[5] The important chronicle of Ekkehard has been found complete by Professor Waitz of Kiel, and published for the first time by PERTZ in the sixth volume of his *Scriptores*. The editor does full justice to the candour and perspicacity of the historian, whom he places in the first rank of medieval writers. We may add to these three historians Bruno, author of the narrative entitled *De Bello Saxonico*, if, as a passage in his work seems to show, he was a monk of Merseburg.

[6] MABILL., *Ann. Bened.*, book lxxii. c. 46. Sigebert died in 1112, the

Toward the same period an Irishman, Marianus Scotus,[1] became a monk in Germany, where he employed himself in profound study, for the purpose of rectifying all the chronology in use, which he did in a chronicle then widely known, and continued by several writers.[2] A French monk, named Martin, became the first historian of Poland;[3] while another monk, Nestor,[4] of Polish origin, drew up the primitive annals of Russia, then newly converted to Christianity. These annals were composed in the national tongue at Kiew, in the monastery of Peczora, then the nursery of the orthodox clergy, and the home of that Catholic civilisation which Russia had first accepted, and which she was soon unhappily destined to reject.[5]

It will be sufficient to cite, among the writers of the eleventh century, William of Malmesbury, Gilbert of Nogent, Otho of Frisingue, Abbot Suger, and Odo of Deuil, to prove that during this period the monks did not shrink from their mission as the historians of the Christian world. And who can deny them most of the conditions necessary for the fulfilment of this high mission? They worked neither for gain nor fame, but simply for the glory of God. Their object was to keep alive in the memories of their brethren the events passing in their time and in their

year in which his chronicle ends. It has been continued to 1206 by Robert of Thorigny, Abbot of Mont St. Michel.

[1] "Ego Marianus, peregrinus factus pro regno cœlesti, patriam mutuavi, et in Colonia monachus effectus sum."—*Chron.*, ad ann. 1056.

[2] It ends in 1082, and was continued by Dodechin (ap. PISTORIUM, *Script. rer. Germ.*, vol. i.), and Florentius, monk of Worcester, from 1083 to 1117 (London, 1592; Frankfort, 1601; and ap. PERTZ, vol. v.) See the interesting preamble which Waitz has inserted in the collection of PERTZ.

[3] He wrote, in 1109, the life of King Boleslas III. and his ancestors. —MARTINI GALLI, *Chronicon*, ed. J. V. Bandtke (Warsaw, 1824), pp. xx. xxii. Cf. OSSOLINSKI, *Anmerkungen zu Vinc. Kadlubek*, p. 110.

[4] Born 1056, died 1116. His chronicle has been translated and published by M. Louis Paris.

[5] It is well known that the connection of the Russian Church with Catholic unity was only completely broken in the fifteenth century.

neighbourhood—to collect together those which they had witnessed, or had received from tradition. Thanks to the social organisation of the middle ages, this tradition had remained equally powerful and durable. The monks wrote amidst the peace and freedom of the cloister, in all the candour and sincerity of their minds.[1] They had neither family nor property to endanger in daring to speak the truth to those in power; and their writings, composed under the eye of their monastic superiors and the sovereign protection of the Church, escaped at once the coercion of temporal rulers, and the dangers or flatteries of a wide and immediate publicity.[2] Their only ambition was to be faithful interpreters of the teaching which God gives to men in history, by reminding them of the ruin of the proud, the exaltation of the humble, and the terrible certainty of eternal judgment.[3] Calm amid the safety and obedience of the cloister, and in the happiness of holy poverty,[4] the monkish annalists offered to those Christians whose lives, spent in the world, debarred them from historic research, the rich fruit of their long study.[5] If princes and nobles never tired of founding, endowing, and enriching monasteries, neither did

[1] "Decet utique ut sicut res novæ mundo quotidie accidunt, sic ad laudem Dei assidue scripto tradantur. . . . De rebus ecclesiasticis ut simplex Ecclesiæ filius, sincere fari dispono . . . ea tamen quæ nostro tempore vidi, vel in vicinis regionibus accidisse comperi, elaboro cohibente Deo simpliciter et veraciter enucleare posterorum indagini."—ORDER. VIT., *Prolog. in Eccles. histor.*

[2] This has been wisely remarked by the Protestant STENZEL, *Geschichte der frankischen Kaiser*, vol. ii. pp. 15, 16, in his work on the criticism of the sources of German history in the twelfth century.

[3] "Cunctipotens . . . mire disponit cursus seculorum, et dociles instruens animos terrigenarum . . . memorabilium exhibitione gestorum. Nam dejectione sublimium, et exaltatione humilium . . . incessanter erudítur genus humanum, ne per execrabilem theomachiam fiat profanum; sed ut divinum semper metuat judicium," &c.—ORDER. VIT., book vi. p. 632.

[4] "Roboratus securitate subjectionis et paupertatis tripudio."—*Id.*, book xiii. p. 924.

[5] "Dulcem fructum longi studii . . . filiis Ecclesiæ tanta rimari per se non valentibus charitative obtulit."—*Id.*, book iii. p. 159, ed. Leprévost.

the monks grow weary of chronicling the services and exploits of their benefactors, in order to transmit them to posterity.[1] They thus paid a just debt of gratitude to Catholic chivalry. "O princes and lords," said one of them, "you give us peace by braving all perils and performing great feats of arms; it is our part to create for you by our toils a fame which shall last for ever."[2]

The composition of these monastic chronicles, far from being given up to individual caprice, was the object of special solicitude to the heads of communities. At St. Gall the official history of the house, which embraced that of all the empire, was begun at a very early date, and continued during several centuries. At Corvey, the provost or prior was charged with the same duty during the whole period of his office.[3] In England, in all the monasteries which were royal foundations, an accomplished and trustworthy monk was chosen to collect the feats and actions of the reigning king; then, at the first general chapter held after the death of each sovereign, a commission, formed of the most prudent of the brotherhood, arranged out of these notices a chronicle of the reign just ended, to be placed in the archives of the monastery.[4] As to the loyalty and impartiality of the chroniclers, it is sufficiently guaranteed by their candour in themselves transmitting to posterity the

[1] "Quemadmodum pii majores, reges, magnates alii templis construendis, monasteriis fundandis, dotandis, ditandis, immunitatibus concedendis ad miraculum usque magnifici fuerunt, eaque re in æternum honorandi, ita non defuit etiam monachis sua laus, quod pia cura et sedula gratitudine collata in ipsos beneficia mandarunt litteris: adeoque de bene merentibus nominibus ipsi bene meruerunt."—JOAN. MARSHAM, ap. DUGDALE, book c.

[2] "O duces . . . vestra industria est nobis incitamento: ut quia pericula vestra paci nostræ impenditis, vos vicissim per labores nostros omni ævo inclarescatis."—GUILL. MALMESB., *procem. libr. de Gest. reg. Anglor.*

[3] Ordinances of Abbots Marqward (1093) and Wibold (1150), ap. STENZEL, ii. p. 12.

[4] "Peritum accuratumque scriptorem . . . ut ex omnium collatione, a sagacioribus quibusdam a capitulo designatis facta, accurata chronica conscriberentur, in archiviis monasteriorum diligenter asservanda."—SCOTI, *Chron.*, book xvi. c. 39, quoted in *Præf.* to MATTH. PARIS., ed. 1571.

narrative of the disorders which too often disturbed and injured the reputation of their own monasteries; and assuredly they have thus acquired the right to be believed in the judgments they express with reference to exterior events.[1] It is to the monks of St. Denis that we owe the most exact account of the ignominious troubles of the reign of Charles VI. It is owing to the annals of St. Vaast that we are able to trace the refinements of cruelty and perfidy used by Louis XI. in endeavouring to snatch from the heiress of Burgundy the rich domains of her ancestors. The noble independence professed by Ordericus Vitalis was no vain formula when he, an English monk in a Norman abbey, said, "I will describe the revolutions of England and of Normandy without flattering any one, for I expect my reward neither from the victors nor the vanquished."[2]

[1] This impartiality did not exclude patriotism, especially among the French monks, such as Richer and Suger. The learned PERTZ reproaches the first for being "patriæ ultra quam ferri potest studiosum, et vanæ gloriæ quæ vel in Napoleonis nuntiis (*bulletins*) indignationem populorum incurrit, deditum."—*Scriptores*, vol. iii. p. 564.

[2] "Miseras mutationes Anglorum et Normannorum sine adulatione referam, nullius remunerationis a victoribus seu victis expetens honorificentiam."—Book iii. c. 15.

CHAPTER V

SERVICES RENDERED BY THE MONKS TO ART

Artist monks.—Architects.—Masons.—Painters and caligraphers.—Diversity of studies in the cloister.—Monks as sculptors, jewellers, and smiths.—Glass-makers, engravers, and enamellers.—Religious music and Gregorian singing in the abbeys.—The organ brought to perfection by the monks.—School of singing at Wearmouth.—Writings upon music by monks.—Guy of Arezzo, a monk.[1]

If we cross the narrow boundary which in the human mind separates the domain of learning and literature from the domain of art, we find monks there, as everywhere, in the post of honour, in the vanguard of Christian progress. We recognise in them the principal instruments of the slow and salutary regeneration which freed art from all pagan influences, and clothed it with that form, completely and exclusively Catholic, which has produced so many and such inimitable masterpieces. Too long despised by the narrow spirit which has misunderstood at once the history, the learning, and the greatness of the Catholic ages, the monuments produced during those ages, by a marvellous union of enthusiasm and humility, have at last in our own days been studied, comprehended, and admired; and the justice now so generally done to them cannot fail to be reflected upon the Monastic Orders. If it were permitted to us here to include in our review the age in which Christian art reached

[1] On the margin of the interleaved volume we are using, M. de Montalembert has written in pencil the following words: "Refer for this chapter to the *Nova bibliotheca* MS. of Labbe, vol. i. pp. 470–507." We have found there, in fact, many details on the arts of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Further on, the author indicates a special chapter to refer to on the subject of monastic burial-places.—(*Note by the editor.*)

its climax, how delightful would it be to show this art developing itself, by the help of the monastic spirit, in new forms, but in all its vigour, purity, and productiveness, especially among the preaching friars![1] How eagerly should we follow its wonderful progress till the day when it attained that ideal of beauty glorified by faith—that enchanting perfection of grace, nobleness, and purity, the type of which is found in the Madonna, such as Dante has sung her, and such as she is painted by the blessed Dominican, Giovanni of Fiesole, so justly surnamed Fra Angelico! But even while confining ourselves to the period which specially occupies us, we may at least make it clear that the monks prepared, by their numberless works, the dawn of that day of Catholic art which reigned from the twelfth to the fifteenth century;[2] and we shall have the consolation of finding on our path no trace of that degradation of Christian ideas which has been called the Renaissance, and which, in our opinion, has dug the grave of true beauty and of true poetry.

From the beginning of monasticism, St. Benedict, in his rule, had foreseen that there would be artists in the cloister, and had imposed on the exercise of their art and their freedom but one single condition—humility.[3] His pre-

[1] We can only indicate here the excellent work of P. Marchese, a Florentine Dominican, on the glory of his order, entitled, *Memoria dei pittori, scultori e architetti domenicani.*—Firenze, 1845-46, 2 vols. 8vo.

[2] See Rio, *de la Poésie chrétienne; forme de l'art.*

[3] "Artifices si sunt in monasterio, cum omni humilitate et reverentia faciant ipsas artes, si permiserit abbas. Quod si aliquis ex eis extollitur pro scientia artis suæ, eo quod videatur aliquid conferre monastico: hic talis evellatur ab ipsa arte, et denuo per eam non transeat, nisi forte humiliato ei iterum abbas jubeat."—C. 57. We shall see later how St. Bernard of Tiron, one of the monastic reformers, attracted and employed artists. To those who choose to translate the word *artifices* literally by *workmen*, we will answer,—1st, that in the middle ages artists indeed were mostly workmen, but that also almost all workmen were artists; and 2nd, that the nature of St. Benedict's precepts shows that they applied to workmen occupied in tasks of an elevated and intellectual order, such as might inspire pride—that is to say, to true *artists*, in the modern sense of the word.

visions were accomplished and his commands faithfully obeyed. Benedictine monasteries soon contained not only schools and libraries, but also studios where architecture, painting, mosaic, sculpture, engraving, caligraphy, ivory-carving, the mounting of gems, bookbinding and ornamentation in various branches, were studied and practised with equal ardour and success, without any injury to the severe discipline of the institution.

The teaching of these arts even formed an essential part of monastic education.[1]

The greatest and holiest abbeys were precisely those most renowned for the zeal they displayed in the culture of art. As we have already said, St. Gall in Germany, Monte Cassino in Italy, and Cluny in France, were for many centuries the centres of Christian art. Later, St. Denis, under Abbot Suger, disputed this honour with them. In the shelter of its immense church, the largest in Christendom, with innumerable abbeys depending on it, Cluny formed a vast centre where all the arts received a prodigious development, such as to attract the exaggerated reproaches of St. Bernard.[2] Monte Cassino followed the same impulse; and we find that Abbot Didier, lieutenant and successor to Gregory VII., carried out on an enormous scale the rebuilding of his monastery—while vast works in mosaic, painting, embroidery, and carving in ivory, wood, marble, bronze, gold, and silver, were executed there by Byzantine or Moorish artists, in a manner which obtained the admiration of all his contemporaries.[3] The sacred grotto of Subiaco, the cradle of monasticism, the wild nest from which civilisation was to spring, received in turn the adornment of art

[1] See the passages quoted above on the study of painting in the monasteries of Hildesheim.

[2] See the curious picture which St. Bernard has left us of the artistic magnificence of Cluny.—APOLOGIA, *ad Guillelmum*, c. 12. We will return to this subject.

[3] LEO OSTIENSIS, *Chron. Cassinens.*, book iii. cc. 11, 20, 28, 29, 30, 33—full of valuable details.

consecrated by faith.[1] The monastery which encloses this sanctuary, and which Hildebrand, before becoming Pope, confided to the Cardinal-monk Crescentius, was, during the fifty-two years of his government, decorated with many paintings,[2] which partly remain, and testify to the tradition which Cimabuë and Giotto, the Pisans and the Florentines, were to carry on so gloriously and so intelligently. On the other side the Alps, a second lieutenant of Gregory VII., St. William, Abbot of Hirschau, showed no less ardour in the cultivation of art; he established two schools of architecture, one at Hirschau itself, and the other at St. Emmeran at Ratisbon.[3]

In the eleventh century, we may affirm that, following the example of Didier and William, most of the monks celebrated for their virtues, their learning, or their devotion to the liberty of the Church, were equally distinguished by their zeal for art, and often by their personal talent for engraving, painting, or architecture. They relaxed the rule by permitting, and even commanding, artist monks whose conduct was blameless to leave their cloister, and travel, in order to perfect their skill or extend their studies.[4] When charity required it, they sent them abroad, true art mission-

[1] The Abbey of St. Scholastica, also at Subiaco, was decorated with mural paintings at the time of its reconstruction in the eighth century, after the ravages of the Saracens.—*Chron. Sub.*, ap. *Muratori Script.*, book xxiv. p. 930.

[2] "Concamerationes coloribus perfectissimis multa pictorum arte præcellentium pictura decorantur. Ibi spectare est colorum et figurarum tam vetustatem quam ordinem et ut ita dicam decentiam: quod oculi inspectantium facile et cum delectatione teneantur."—*Chron.* MS. S. Celle par BINI. V. *Memoria del sacro speco*, p. 28. The same abbot ornamented the church of St. Scholastica with a number of art objects of admirable workmanship.—*Ibid.*, p. 988.

[3] His services have been duly appreciated by HEIDELOFF, *Die Bauhütte des Mittelalters in Deutschland*, p. 5. Cf. TRITHEMIUS, *Chron. Hirsaug. Ann.* 1070 and 1083.

[4] This is proved by a passage relative to Tutilo of St. Gall: "Abbatum vero sub quibus militaverat permissu, plerumque et præceptis, multas propter artificia simul et doctrinas peragravera terras."—EKKEH., *De Casib. Sancti Galli*, c. 3.

aries, to carry to foreign lands the traditions and rules of architectural beauty. Thus an abbot of Wearmouth, from whom Naïtan, King of the Picts, had asked builders, hastened to send them, that they might teach his people how to build churches of stone in the manner of the Romans.[1]

Ecclesiastical architecture everywhere owed its remarkable progress to monks. It was the noble Benedict Biscop who introduced it into the north of Great Britain,[2] where the Saxons as yet had only wooden buildings. Abbot Biscop, on his many journeys to Rome, had studied the rules of ecclesiastical architecture. He was able, in France, to find masons capable of applying them; and he was sustained, says the historian, in his hard labours, by the double love of his country and of art.[3]

The order of Cistercians, for whose history all that we write now is but a preparation, is the one which has left us the most admirable monuments. During the six centuries which separate St. Benedict from St. Bernard, as well as during the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the monks were able to exemplify in innumerable buildings the magnificence and solidity characteristic of that which may be specially entitled the Noble Art. Not only did they build at Cluny the greatest basilica of medieval Christendom,[4] but they covered all the countries of Catholic

[1] "Naïtanus, rex Pictorum . . . architectos sibi mitti petiit, qui juxta morem Romanorum, Ecclesiam de lapide in gente ipsius facerent. . . . Reverentissimus abbas Ceolfridus misit architectos. . . ."—BEDA, *Hist. eccles.*, l. v. c. 21. Ceolfrid was St. Benedict Biscop's successor in the seventh century (690).

[2] "Benedictus, Oceano transmisso, Gallias petens, cæmentarios, qui lapideam sibi ecclesiam juxta Romanorum, quem semper amabat, morem facerent, postulavit, accepit, attulit."—BEDA, *Vit. BB. abbat.*, p. 366, ed. Giles.

[3] "Amor patriæ et voluptas elegantiæ asperos fallebant labores."

[4] It was 555 feet long, only 9 feet less than the present church of St. Peter at Rome (564 feet), which was then much smaller. Nôtre Dame at Paris is only 396 feet. Three other abbatial churches—Vézelay, St. Denis, and Pontigny, still standing—are 375, 335, and 314 feet long respectively. I borrow these figures from the *Chronique de Vézelay*, by l'Abbé MARTIN.

Europe with a profusion of churches, cloisters, and chapter-houses, of which only the names and some ruins remain to us. Among these ruins are some which deserve to be counted among the most precious relics of the past. Of monasteries remarkable for architectural beauty, and the remains of which even now are worthy of admiration, we may speak of Croyland, Fountains, Tintern, and Netley, in England; Walkenried, Heisterbach, Altenberg, Paulinzelle, in Germany; the Chartreuses of Miraflores, Seville, and Granada, in Spain;[1] Alcobaça and Batalha, in Portugal; Souvigny, Vézelay, St. Denis, Mont St. Michel, Fontevrault, Pontigny, Jumiéges, and St. Bertin, in France,—names for ever dear to true architects, and which only need to be pronounced to brand with ineffaceable disgrace the barbarians who have ruined and profaned so many glorious works!

England must be visited in order to form an idea of the majestic grandeur of monastic buildings. The work of devastation has been less complete there than elsewhere, partly because monastic property was little disturbed after the confiscation, and partly because the skill of the monks was then devoted to the construction of cathedrals, in which they took the place of the chapters. These cathedrals are still standing, and have even been preserved with most laudable care by the Anglican schismatics. We find in them, in spite of recent additions, visible traces of that immense architectural movement[2] which spread itself over England after the Conquest, thanks to the Norman monks called thither by Duke William, and to whom we owe the magnificent churches of Canterbury, Lincoln, Rochester, Durham, and Gloucester.

[1] I do not know whether anything of these two latter Chartreuses, so rich in objects of art, still remain. When I visited them in 1843, one was being demolished, and the other was transformed into a pottery by a Belgian Vandal who refused admission to strangers.

[2] This movement has been well understood and perfectly described by M. Vitet in his excellent article on medieval architecture in England.—*Revue Française*, July 1838, vol. vii. p. 223.

When we say that the numberless monastic churches scattered throughout the whole of Europe were built by the monks, the assertion must be taken in its literal sense. They were, in fact, not only architects, but masons; after having arranged their plans, the noble and skilful designs which still excite our admiration,[1] they executed them with their own hands, and generally without the aid of stranger workmen.[2] They sang psalms while they laboured,[3] and quitted their tools only to go to the altar or the choir.[4] They undertook the hardest and most lengthened tasks, and exposed themselves to all the fatigues and dangers of a mason's life.[5] The superiors themselves did not confine their efforts to drawing the plans and superintending the work; they gave the example of courage and humility, and shrank from no fatigue: so that, while simple monks were often chief architects,[6] abbots were to be seen willingly descending to the toil of simple workmen. Thus, in the ninth century, it happened at St. Gall one day, that when

[1] We will quote only one example out of a hundred. It is said of Anstcus, a monk of Gorze, and Abbot of St. Arnoul at Metz, in the tenth century: "Architecturæ non ignobilis ei peritia suberat: ut quidquid semel disposuisset, in omnibus locorum et ædificiorum symmetriis vel commensurationibus non facile cujusquam argui posset judicio."—*Vit. S. Joann. Gorz.*, c. 66, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. v. p. 387.

[2] This is expressly stated in the life of St. Ethelwold, monk and Bishop of Winchester.—*Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. v. p. 618.

[3] For example, at the building of Ramsey, in the ninth century.—*Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. v. pp. 727–760.

[4] "Henricus in cujus manu semper dolabrum versatur, excepto quando stat ad altaris sacri ministerium."—ERMENRICI, *Epist.*, ap. MABILLON, *Analecta*, p. 421, ed. in-fol.

[5] For example, at the building of the monastery of Pomposa, under Abbot Guy (1046): "Fratribus operantibus aliquando crates lapidum ruderibus graves, non sine diabolico instinctu de superioribus, muri ruerunt in terram. In quo casu quidam ex operariis quia supererant cratibus, delapsi ad ima . . . quidam vero dum corruentes muro tignisque aliquibus inhærent. . . ."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars i. p. 511.

[6] The fine church of the Abbey of Montierneuf, at Poitiers, still partly standing, had one of its monks for builder in 1080.—MSS. FONTENEAU, quoted by M. DE CHERGÉ, in the *Mem. of the Antiq. of the West*, ann. 1844, pp. 174–255.

a part of the community had laboured in vain to loosen from the quarry one of those enormous columns of a single block which were to support the abbey church, Abbot Ratger, seeing all the brethren worn out by fatigue, continued alone at the work, until, St. Gall coming to his help, he succeeded in detaching the mass of stones required.[1]

In the tenth century, St. Gerard, Abbot of Broigne,[2] on his way from Rome, himself drove through the difficult passes of the Alps the mules which he had laden with blocks of porphyry, to be transported from Italy to Belgium; because, says his biographer, he intended his church to be beautiful.[3]

At the first building of the Abbey of Bec, in 1033, its founder and first abbot, Herluin, great Norman noble as he was, worked as a simple mason, carrying the chalk, sand, and stone on his back.[4] Another Norman, Hugh, Abbot of Selby in Yorkshire, did the same thing when, in 1096, he rebuilt in stone all the edifices of his monastery, which were before constructed of wood: dressed in a workman's frock, and mingling with the other masons, he shared all their labours.[5] Monks sprung from the most illustrious families distinguished themselves by their zeal in manual labour. Hezelon, for example, after having been a canon of the chapter of Liège, the noblest in Germany, and after having made himself famous by his learning and eloquence, became a simple monk at Cluny, and there directed the building of

[1] "*Omnis congregatio* per totum diem laboraverat in una columnarum illarum quæ in basilica ipsa superstant . . . abbas solus . . . sed frustra sudabat . . . *Sancte Galle, finde illam.* . . . Immensa moles rupis illius sua sponte inde fissa enituit."—*Fragm.* ERMENRICI, *ubi supra.*

[2] See his life, related above.

[3] "Incaute gradiens unus e sagmariis sarcinatus lapidibus porphyreticis quos ad sua vir Dei transvehebat causa necessariæ venustatis."—*Vit. S. Gerard, Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. v. p. 274.

[4] WILLELM. GEMETICENSIS, book vi. c. 9, ap. DUCHESNE.

[5] "Ipse cucullo indutus operario, lapides, calcem, et alia necessaria, propriis humeris cum ceteris operariis, ad murum evehere solebat."—MABILLON, *Ann.*, vol. v. book lxix. c. 86.

the great church founded by St. Hugh, preferring to his titles, his prebends, and his worldly reputation, the surname of *Cæmentarius*,[1] borrowed from his habitual occupation. Hugh of Flavigny relates, that at the time of the vast works undertaken at St. Vannes, about the year 1000, one of the monks of the abbey, Frederic, Count of Verdun, brother of the Duke of Lorraine, and cousin of the Emperor himself, dug the foundations of the new dormitory, and carried away on his back the earth he took out.[2] One day, during the building of the towers of the abbey church, when the number of brethren was insufficient to carry the mortar in hods to the upper stages, Frederic commanded one of the monks present, who was of very noble birth, to undertake the office; but he, reddening, replied that such work did not suit a man of his rank. Then the former Count of Verdun himself took the hod, put it on his shoulder, and carried it up to the platform where the masons were at work. When he came down he gave the hod to the young rebel, and exhorted him never again to let any one see him blush to undertake a task which had been fulfilled in his presence by a count and the son of a count.[3]

When, in the eleventh century, the institution of lay brothers (*fratres conversi*) became so general, these brothers

[1] MABILLON, *Annal.*, ad. 1109.

[2] "Vere monachus terræ fossor accessit, et quod effossum est, onere acto exportavit. Quis jam similia facere erubesceret, cum videret Fredericum, comitis filium, fratrem duorum ducum, imperatoris consanguineum, et fecisse et non erubuisse."—HUGO FLAVINIAC, *Chron. Virdun.*, part ii. c. 7, ap. LABBE, *Bibl. Nov. MSS.*, i. 164.

[3] "Cum jam in altum structura porrigeretur, et instrumentum illud, quod *avis* nominatur, subvectione cæmenti aptatum, perpauci essent qui ferrent . . . videns vir beatæ memoriæ quemdam de nobilioribus adstantem, ut sumeret ligneum illud instrumentum, et cæmentum collo, ut moris est, subveheret admonuit. Qui cum erubesceret, et suis id natalibus incongruum adstrueret, vir mitissimus cervice subposita. . . . Deinde porrecto juveni instrumento eodem . . . ut disceret facere quod fecerat comes comitis filius; nec erubesceret, si ei improbaretur factum quod constaret ab ipso quondam comite primitus attentatum."—HUGO FLAVINIAC, *ap.* LABBE.

assisted the monks in their building, but without completely taking their place, or depriving them of their share in the erection of important edifices.[1] In the bosom of those establishments, whose plans and construction, we repeat, were the works of the monks themselves, there were organised, as we have already said, vast workshops, where all the other arts were exercised, but always under the great and strict law of humility, which the holy legislator of the Order had imposed.

Enough attention has not been paid to the variety of occupations in which the artist monks simultaneously engaged, nor the extraordinary facility with which they brought their talents to bear upon different objects. The same man was often architect, jeweller, smith, miniature-painter, musician, caligrapher, and organ-builder, without ceasing to be theologian, preacher, author, and sometimes even bishop or privy councillor of princes.[2] We have quoted more than one example of this in the course of our narrative.[3] We may

[1] The comparison of various texts relative to the building of the abbey church of Hirschau, 1083, gives positive information on this subject: "Inter quos (conversos) fuerunt omnium artium mechanicarum peritissimi operatores; qui omnes totius cœnobii structuras suis manibus summa diligentia consummaverunt. Erant enim fabri lignarii et ferrarii, latomi quoque et muratores optimi: qui monasterium simul et ecclesiæ (ut in sculptura turrium hodie cernitur) totius ædificium pulchra dispositione construxerunt."—TRITHEMIUS, *Chron. Hirs.*, ann. 1070, p. 228.

"Hujus structuræ artifices, *pro magna parte monachi fuerunt*, Barbati, sive conversi, et oblati, quos hodie Donatos appellamus . . .; inter quos erant latomi, fabri lignarii, ferrarii et *magistri* procul dubio *in omni scientia architecturæ peritissimi*, qui totum opus *consilio et manibus* pulchro tabulatu lapideo perfecerunt, sicut in ipsius ecclesiæ fabrica usque in præsens cernitur."—TRITHEM., *Chron.*, ann. 1083, p. 255.

[2] This is the reflection of Père Cahier, who was, we think, the first to point out the diversity of talents in these *multiple* men, as he justly calls them.—*Si le christianisme a nui aux sciences*, sect. xiv.

[3] Among others, St. Eloi, Tutilo of St. Gall, St. Dunstan, St. Bernward, St. Godehart, and Gerbert. Let us bring together the different passages relating to Tutilo: "Erat valde eloquens . . . cælatura elegans, picturæ artifex, ac mirificus aurifex; musicus in omni genere instrumentorum, et fistularum, præ omnibus . . . in structuris et cæteris artibus efficax, concinnandi in utraque lingua promptulus. . . . Picturas et aurificia carmini-

add several others which belong to the eleventh century. Thus, Mannius, Abbot of Evesham in England, is described as skilful at once in music, painting, caligraphy, and goldsmith's work.[1] Foulques, precentor of the Abbey of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, was equally good as an architect and elegant as a miniature-painter.[2] Hermannus Contractus, a distinguished monk, whom we have already mentioned among the historians, was able, infirm and crippled as he was,[3] to find means to cultivate with great success poetry, geometry, mechanics, music, and, above all, astronomy; he was thoroughly acquainted with Greek, Latin, and Arabic,[4] and was without a rival as a maker of musical instruments and clockwork.[5]

During the war of investitures, and under the pontificate of Urban II., the Catholic party in Germany counted among its chiefs Thiemon, a Bavarian noble, who was successively Abbot of St. Peter's at Salzburg and Archbishop of that city, and who, after having been long persecuted and imprisoned for his faith, died a martyr in Palestine. This Thiemon, educated at the monastery of Altaïch, there became a painter, a smith, and a sculptor. During the intervals of the terrible

bus et epigrammatibus decorabat singulariter pretiosis."—EKKEHARD, *De casibus S. Galli*, c. 3, ap. GOLDAST.

[1] "Plurimis artibus imbutus; videlicet cantoris, scriptoris, pictoris, aurique fabricis operis scientia pollens."—*Monast. Anglic.*, i. 151.

[2] "Præcentorem . . . in illuminationibus capitalium literarum et incisionibus lignorum et lapidum peritum."—*Chron. Andagin.*, ap. MARTÈNE, *Ampl. Collect.*, vol. iv. p. 925. It is Père Cahier who gives us these two latter indications. He rightly translates the terms of the chronicle by the following words: "*A master-builder either for carpentry or for stonework.*"

[3] Hence his surname *Contractus*. "Ne . . . per se movere, neve saltem se in aliud latus vertere posset; sed in sella quadam gestatoria a ministro suo depositus, vix curvatim ad agendum quodlibet sedere poterat."—BERTHOLD, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 267.

[4] "Trium linguarum, græcæ, latinæ et arabicæ peritissimus."—TRITHEMIUS, *Ann. Hirsaug.*

[5] "In horologicis et musicis instrumentis et mecanicis nulli par erat componendis."—BERTHOLD, *loc. cit.*, p. 268. He also found time to address a correspondence in verse, "*ad amicas suas quasdam sanctimoniales feminas.*"—DOCEN, *Archiv.*, iii. 8, quoted by PERTZ.

struggle in which he took so noble a part, he decorated the monasteries of his province with the productions of his various talents.[1] When, having been made prisoner in Syria, he appeared before the tribunal of the Mussulman prince, to be sent to martyrdom, he was asked his trade; upon which he replied that he was an architect, a jeweller, and a painter—and that, moreover, he applied these arts symbolically to the truths of that religion which he professed, and for which he was willing to die.[2]

Let us now show, in a few rapid touches, what importance the monks constantly attached to the practice of painting in miniature, which was really a preparation for the great art of religious painting.[3] The art of the miniaturist is scarcely to be separated from that of the caligrapher, since the object of both was to embellish and glorify the sacred writings or books of the liturgy, religious literature, history, or ancient classics, transcribed by the monks upon parchment, or sometimes on purple-tinted vellum, in letters of gold or silver. They also ornamented the capital letters and the margins with those delightful paintings which are still the most precious treasures of our libraries.

In the sixth century, Cassiodorus instituted, in those abbeys which he founded in Calabria, studios for painting in miniature, as well as for the copying of manuscripts. In the ninth century there were skilful painters among the

[1] "Altensi monasterio, tam regularibus quam scholaribus disciplinis traditus est imbuendus . . . cumque non solum non esset iners in artibus quas liberales appellant, sed et in mechanicis universis, sicut pictoria, fusoria, sculptoria, . . . subtilissimus, ut in quibusdam monasteriis, et in nostro specialiter in ejus sculpturis et picturis perspicuum est cernere."—*Vit. S. Gebehard, arch. Salisb. a quod.*, ADMONTENSI MONACHO, 1619, in-18, p. 142.

[2] "Qui interrogatus quis esset, vel quam artem sciret. . . . Scio quidem diversas artes; sed præcipue ut sapiens architectus fundamentum scio ponere firmum. . . . Et insuper materiales artes, ut desideras, videlicet aurariam sive pictoriam scio plenarie."—*Passio S. Tiemonis*, ap. GRETSER, *Oper.*, vol. vi. p. 461.

[3] This is the opinion of the Jesuit Lanzi, who, however, was not very intelligent in matters of Christian art.

monks of Corvey, and Sintram of St. Gall was at once the admiration and the despair of caligraphers. Godman, Abbot of Thorney in 970, ornamented with the richest paintings a *Benedictionale*, which is regarded as the *chef-d'œuvre* of Saxon art.[1] The monk Bernward, afterwards Bishop of Hildesheim, excelled in the decoration of the manuscripts he copied.[2] This delicate art was specially cultivated among the order of Cluny. St. Bernard says that they feared no expense for this object, and reproaches the Clunists with having powdered gold to use for their miniatures. In the convents, also, the nuns ornamented their caligraphic work with precious miniatures; those of the *Hortus deliciarum*, by the Abbess Herrade of St. Odile, add an infinite value to that important collection.[3] For ten centuries, from the age of Cassiodorus to the epoch of the Renaissance and the Reformation, monks, especially the Benedictines and the Camaldolines,[4] in Germany and Italy, persevered, with indefatigable care and increasing success, in their work of painting and caligraphy.[5] It is doubtful whether the world ever saw an example of labour so constant and so fruitful.

[1] This celebrated MS. is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, at Chatsworth. A facsimile has been published by Mr. Rokewood Gage, a learned Catholic, who died some years since.

[2] "In scribendo enituit. . . . Picturam limate exercuit." See above, a curious passage in the life of St. Bernward.

[3] A curious facsimile may be seen in P. CAHIER, p. 164, in the reprint of his *Mémoire*.

[4] Let us only recall the admirable choir-books of Ferrara, of Sienna, and of the monastery *degl' Angeli* at Florence, the work of monks in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, so well judged by M. Rio, *De la Poésie chrétienne*, pp. 180–182.

[5] Père Cahier quotes positive proofs of this in his chronological enumeration of ecclesiastical caligraphers and miniature-painters, the most exact we know of.—*Si le Christianisme a nui aux sciences*, sects. xxv., xxx. This art has been longer preserved in the Greek monasteries, and is still practised there, but with the inferiority which characterises all the works of the Christian East as compared with the West. See DIDRON, *Voyage au Mont Athos* in the *Annales archéolog.* of 1846, and his translation of the *Guide to Painting;* and finally, an excellent note of Père Cahier on this subject, sect. xxix. p. 193 of the reprint.

But at the period we have now reached, monks did not confine themselves to miniatures. At St. Gall especially, they worked upon a larger scale: the annals of this illustrious house boast of the variety of subjects and the brilliance of the colours which covered the walls of their church in the tenth century.[1] The monks of Reichenau sent painters to their brethren to help them in this work. Two centuries earlier, St. Benedict Biscop, Abbot of Wearmouth, had caused the whole circumference of the two churches of his monastery to be covered with paintings representing the history of Our Lord and the agreement of the Old and New Testaments.[2] In 823, by command of Ansegisus, Abbot of Fontenelle, Madalulphus of Cambrai had painted the refectory of Luxeuil, which was 200 feet long.[3] The beautiful frescoes of the abbey church of St. Savin in Poitou, even now excite the admiration of artists.[4] The churches of the order of Cluny, always in the first rank for grandeur and beauty, were generally ornamented with paintings, probably frescoes.[5] Other monks employed their pictorial talents for the propagation of the true faith among the infidels. For

[1] This is said, among others, of Cunibert, Abbot of Altaich: "Doctor sermone planus, pictor ita decorus, ut in laquearis exterioris S. Galli ecclesiæ circulo videre est."—EKKEH., *De casibus*, c. 3. Cf. BURKHARD, *De casib.*, cc. 1, 2.

[2] "Tunc divinæ historiæ picturas, quibus totam B. Dei Genitricis, quam in monasterio majore fecerat, ecclesiam gyro coronaret, attulit; imagines quoque ad ornandum monasterium ecclesiamque B. Pauli apostoli de concordia Veteris et Novi Testamenti summa ratione compositas exhibuit."—VEN. BEDA, ed. Giles, p. 376, *Vit. S. Bened. Biscop.* cc. 5, 9.

[3] "Variis picturis decorari in maceria et in laqueari fecit a Madalulfo egregio pictore Cameracensis ecclesiæ."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, in *Vit. S. Ansegis.*, c. 9.

[4] They furnished the material for the magnificent publication lately issued by MM. Merimée and Gérard Séguin in the *Collection des docu. inédits relatifs à l'hist. de France.*

[5] "Omitto oratoriorum immensas altitudines, immoderatas longitudines supervacuas latitudines, sumptuosas depolitiones *curiosas depictiones*."—S. BERNARD., *Apolog. ad Guillelm.*, c. 12. It is known that the great Saint was swayed by violent prejudices against religious art, which his order happily rejected after his death.

example, we find that Michel III., King of the Bulgarians, was baptized with his court in 866, in consequence of the fright inspired by a view of the last judgment, which had been painted on the walls of his palace by Methodius, a missionary monk.[1] The constant aim of these pious artists was not only, says the Venerable Bede, to decorate the churches, but also to teach the illiterate, by placing before their eyes subjects borrowed from sacred history, from the Gospel narratives, from the Apocalypse, or from the lives of saints.[2] The monks also assisted in giving to painting its grandest and most serious application by fixing it upon glass, and thus creating those windows which form the most glorious ornament of the Christian temple. St. Benedict Biscop brought to England[3] the glass-makers employed in France in the seventh century by Abbot Philibert, founder

[1] "Pingendi non rudem."—CEDRENUS, edit. reg., p. 540, quoted by D'AGINCOURT, *Hist. de l'art.*, ed. ital., vol. i. p. 264. Methodius was the apostle of the Bulgarians, Moravians, and other Slav nations; he was also one of the authors of the Slavonic liturgy.

[2] ". . . Picturas sanctarum historiarum . . . non ad ornamentum solummodo ecclesiæ, verum ad instructionem intuentium." The words of Bede, important even in a technical point of view, deserve to be here quoted fully: "Picturas imaginum sanctarum, quas ad ornandum ecclesiam B. Petri, quam construxerat detulit (S. B. Biscop); imaginem, videlicet, B. Dei Genitricis, simul et duodecim apostolorum, quibus *mediam ejusdem ecclesiæ testudinem*, ducto a pariete ad parietem tabulato, præcingeret; imagines evangelicæ historiæ quibus australem ecclesiæ parietem decoraret; imagines visionum Apocalypsis B. Joannis quibus septentrionalem æque parietem ornaret, quatenus intrantes ecclesiam omnes, etiam literarum ignari, quaqua versum intenderent, vel semper amabilem Christi sanctorumque ejus, quamvis in imagine, contemplarentur aspectum, vel," &c.—BEDA, *Vit. B. abb.*, p. 368, ed. Giles.

[3] "Misit legatarios Galliam, qui vitri factores, artifices videlicet Britanniis eatenus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesiæ, porticuumque et cœnaculorum ejus fenestras adducerent. . . . Anglorum ex eo gentem hujusmodi artificium nosse ac discere fecerunt. . . . Cuncta quæ ad altaris et ecclesiæ ministeria competebant, vasa sancta vel vestimenta, quia domi invenire non potuit de transmarinis regionibus advectare curabat."—VEN. BEDA, *ibid.*, p. 366. I believe this to be one of the first examples of the employment of glass windows, and it is not certain that these windows were coloured.

of Jumiéges. St. Philibert distinguished himself by building a dormitory 300 feet long, where there were as many windows as beds; and each window was filled with transparent glass, to the great comfort of the readers.[1]

In Germany, the first glass windows known were those of the monasteries of Hirschau and Tegernsee. Those of Tegernsee were made at the cost of a neighbouring noble, Count Arnold, whom the Abbot Gosbert[2] thanked in these words: "Until now the windows of our church were only covered with old pieces of cloth; thanks to you, the sun for the first time pours his golden rays upon the pavement of our basilica through pictures drawn upon many-coloured glass. All who enjoy the new light admire the astonishing variety of this marvellous work, and their hearts are filled with a joy hitherto unknown."[3]

The monks of this same Abbey of Tegernsee were distinguished through several centuries for another art—that of engraving and working in gold, in which they showed as much patience, zeal, and skill as in the painting of manuscripts."[4]

[1] "Singula per lecta lux radiat per fenestras, vitrum penetrans lychnus fovet adspectus legentis."—*Vit. S. Philibert*, c. 7, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. ii. c. 7, p. 820.

[2] Elected in 982. He was nobly born, and famous for learning.

[3] "Ecclesiæ nostræ fenestræ veteribus pannis usque nunc fuerunt clausæ. Vestris felicibus temporibus auricomus sol primum infusit basilicæ nostræ pavimenta per discoloria picturarum vitra, cunctorumque inspicientium corda pertentant multiplicia gaudia, qui inter se mirantur insoliti operis varietates."—PEZ, *Thesaur. anecdot. Eccles.*, vol. vi. part i. p. 122. These windows were made by the monks themselves; thus the abbeys had soon glassworks, where they made windows for the bishops and nobles of their neighbourhood.

[4] Three monks, all named Werner, were the chief artists and writers of this learned abbey from 1081 to 1180. Of the first, who lived in 1090, it is said: "Artificiosus Anaglypha in scripturis et in picturis et in ornamentis librorum de auro et argento subtilis. Tabulam in superiore parte triangulatam, de auro et argento et electro et gemmis et lapidibus ornatam, et quinque vitreas fenestras et quoddam fusile opus de ære factum et lavacro aptum, huic ecclesiæ contulit."—PEZ, *Thesaur.*, vol. iii. pars. iii. p. 515. See, as to the services rendered to German art and poetry by the monastery of Tegernsee, the thesis of Dr. KUGLER, called *De Werinhero*, sæc. xii., *monacho Tegernsensi*, &c.: Berolini, 1831.

The principal goldsmiths or silversmiths of the middle ages were monks. Monastic chronicles often mention monks, and even abbots, whose talents as engravers or goldsmiths[1] were famous in their own day. The annals of St. Gall hand down a tradition which shows the value attached by men of the ninth century to the carvings of Tutilo, a monk celebrated at that time for the number and diversity of his talents. One day when he was carving an image of Our Lady, two pilgrims, who came to ask alms, thought that they saw in his workshop a lady of the most brilliant beauty, who seemed to be guiding the artist's hand, and whom they took for his sister; but they having told the story to the other monks, the latter believed that it was the Holy Virgin herself who directed the sculptor's chisel.[2]

We must not forget the Englishman Anketil, who, after having been Master of the Mint to the King of Denmark, came back to England, and became a monk at St. Albans, where he distinguished himself by making a magnificent shrine to receive the bones of the sainted patron of the abbey.[3]

Notwithstanding the disappearance, in the devastations occasioned by the Reformation and the Revolution, of a mass of medieval works of art, we have still enough sculptured and enamelled shrines—enough precious book-covers, in gold, silver, and carved ivory—enough abbatial crosiers,

[1] They called them *auriferes, aurifabrilis artis periti, argentarii*, &c., but oftenest *sculptores*.

[2] "Sed est ne soror illius domina illa præclara, quæ ei tam commode radios ad manum dat, et docet quid faciat? . . . Benedictus tu, Pater, qui tali magistra uteris ad opera."—EKKEH., *De Casib. S. Galli*, c. 3.

[3] "Unam thecam gloriosam inchoavit, opera mirifico. . . . Regiis præerat operibus aurifabrilibus, monetæ custos et summus trapezita. . . . Dominus Anketillus . . . monachus et aurifaber incomparabilis, qui fabricam feretri manu propria (auxiliante quodam juvene sæculari discipulo suo Salomone de Ely) et incœpit et consummavit, diligenter in suo opere aurifabrili et animo studuit et manu laboravit."—MATTH. PARIS, *Vitæ S. Alb. abbatum*, pp. 37, 38, ed. Watts. This happened about 1140. There is, indeed, nothing more curious than all the narrative relative to this shrine, and to the vicissitudes of the great work, in Matthew Paris.

diptychs, and marvellous bas-reliefs—enough beautiful works in copper or bronze, such as baptismal fonts,[1] crucifixes, censers, and candlesticks,—to enable us to judge of the degree of elegance and perfection to which the monks had brought their productions of this kind.

We find most curious details of their work in the treatises of the monk Theophilus,[2] who lived between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Let us only say here, that this branch of monastic art was placed under the guardianship of two holy monks, both of them goldsmiths and enamellers: St. Eloi, minister of King Dagobert; and St. Théau, a Saxon slave, whom St. Eloi ransomed and made his pupil and comrade. The reader is not ignorant that monks and abbots long figured as heads of the great school for work in gold and enamel founded in Limousin by the two holy abbots of Solignac, and restored to its due honour in our days by the modest and solid learning of M. l'Abbé Texier.[3]

Our powers fail us to speak of another art, the most charming and most powerful of all—the one which best responds to the needs of the soul, and best expresses its emotions—the one which exercises the most incontestable though the most ephemeral empire over the heart. The Church alone has been able to give to music a character at once durable, popular, and sacred. In this work, as difficult as it was meritorious, she had monks for her zealous and indefatigable auxiliaries. St. Gregory the Great, the father

[1] See the learned, eloquent, and conscientious notice of M. Didron on the copper fonts ornamented with sculpture in bas-relief still existing at St. Barthelemy at Liège, and which were made by command of the noble Hellin, Abbot of St. Marie, in 1113.—*Ann. archéolog.*, vol. v. p. 28.

[2] THEOPHILE, *Prêtre et moine; Essai sur divers arts*, published by Count CHARLES DE LESCALOPIER, and preceded by an introduction by J. MARIE GUICHARD: 1843, quarto.

[3] *Essai sur les argentiers et émailleurs de Limoges*, by the Abbé Texier: Poitiers, 1843. M. Texier mentions particularly the monk William, in the tenth century; the monk Grimamond of Chaise-Dieu, in 1077; Abbot Isembard of St. Martial, a monk from his childhood, Abbot from 1174 to 1178; Peter, Abbot of Mauzac, in 1168.

of true sacred music, gave himself up to it, as we know, in the monastery of St. Andrea at Rome, before he became Pope. The Gregorian chant, the fruit of his genius and his authority, often thrust aside, and still oftener altered by later generations, has been maintained and practised by the order from which he sprang, more faithfully than by any other branch of Christian society.[1] The reason of this was simple: music—that is to say, vocal music, which is the highest form of the art—was identified, for a monk, with the accomplishment of his first duty. In every monastery the compulsory celebration of certain services in the choir seven times a-day, by the whole community, naturally imposed upon the monks the most attentive study of sacred music. Thus the monasteries always had schools, where this art occupied the most important place.

The musical tradition was communicated to St. Gall by a Roman monk, who was received at the abbey as a guest when travelling to Metz by order of Charlemagne, to establish schools of Gregorian singing. It was there that most of the compositions used for divine service, and consecrated by the Church during the middle ages, were composed.[2] History has preserved the recollection of that enthusiasm which transported Conrad I., King of Germany, when he heard at Mayence the High Mass on Easter Day, sung by a monk of St. Gall and three bishops, his pupils.

In the same period lived three musicians, united by the

[1] See, on the introduction of the Roman or Gregorian chant into France and England by the monks, MABILLON, *præf. in sæc. III. Bened.*, No. 104, ed. folio.

[2] The following extract, which may be compared with many others, is interesting for the establishment of this point. It refers to Gerwold, a rich and noble lord, Abbot of Fontenelle under Charlemagne: "Scholam in eodem cœnobio esse instituit, quoniam omnes pene ignaros litterarum invenit: ac de diversis locis, plurimum Christi gregem aggregavit, optimisque cantilenæ sonis, quantum temporis ordo sinebat, edocuit. Erat enim quanquam aliarum litterarum non nimium gnarus, cantilenæ tamen artis peritus, vocisque suavitate excellentia non egenus."—*Chronic. Fontanell.*, c. 16, in *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 278.

tenderest friendship;[1] Notbert the Stammerer or the Saint, Ratbert, and Tutilo. Ratbert, a Thurgovian noble, after having written the valuable annals of his monastery,[2] composed chants in German, and, on his deathbed, saw himself surrounded by forty priests and canons, his enthusiastic pupils, who were come to the monastery to celebrate the festival of St. Gall.

Tutilo taught the young nobility of France the art of playing on wind and stringed instruments, and was, moreover, a painter, architect, Hellenist, Latinist, astronomer, and very skilful sculptor, which did not prevent him from being a man of prayer and secret tears,[3] and, in the opinion of many, a true saint.

All the reformers of the Benedictine order, all its principal doctors and writers, St. Benedict of Anagni,[4] St. Dunstan,[5] St. Odo of Cluny, and many others, were good musicians, and employed their authority to keep up and perfect Church music. The holy monk Adalbert, the great apostle of the Slavonic races, composed the music and words of a Slavonic hymn, beginning "*Hospodyne pomyluy ny*," which, after the missionary's martyrdom, became the national song of the Bohemians.[6] Even during the great struggles of the eleventh century between the Church and the Empire, many of the monks who took part in it, such as Humbert, Abbot of Moyen-Moutier, William of Hirschau, the Popes St. Leo IX. and Victor II., continued to cultivate music zealously.[7]

[1] "Cor et anima una erat, mixtim qualia tres unus fecerint . . . tres isti nostræ reipublicæ senatus."—EKK., *De Casib.*, c. 3, p. 24.

[2] See the collection called *Casus S. Galli.* Ratbert died about 897.—ARX, i. 96–192.

[3] "Filios nobilium fidibus docuit," &c.—EKK., *in Cassibus*, iv. c. 3.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] "Instituit cantor," &c. See above, with respect to St. Benedict of Anagni.

[6] The air to be found noted in BOLELUCZKY, *Rosa Bohemica*, 1657, folio.

[7] See the curious testimonies to this fact in ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. liter. O. S. B.*, pars ii. p. 342.

The organ, that special creation of Christian art, alone worthy to mingle its mystic voice with the pomp of the only truly divine worship—the organ owes to the monks the perfection of its construction; and it is owing to them that it passed into general use.[1] Cassiodorus, an illustrious monk of the sixth century, has given at once the most ancient and the most exact description of this king of instruments.[2] Elphege, Abbot of Winchester in the tenth century, caused to be built the largest organ mentioned in medieval annals—it required seventy men to manage it.[3]

The Benedictines introduced the Gregorian chant into England together with the Catholic faith. A Roman monk named John, arch-precentor of St. Peter's, who accompanied St. Benedict Biscop to Wearmouth, founded there, according to the Roman fashion, a sort of central school for singing, whence issued a great number of pupils.[4]

[1] Organs first appeared in France under Pepin in 759, one being sent to him by the Emperor of Constantinople. Shortly afterwards a monk, Wicterp, Bishop of Augsburg, had one built for his new cathedral.—STENZEL, *Comment. de reb. August.*, pars ii. p. 65. Their use spread in France and Germany more quickly than in Italy. There is interesting information as to the services rendered by monks in the building of organs, in the article by M. de Coussemaker, published by the *Annales archéologiques*, vol. iii. p. 280.

[2] "Organum itaque est quasi turris diversis fistulis fabricata, quibus flatu follium vox copiosissima destinatur, et ut eam modulatio decora componat, linguis quibusdam ligneis ab interiore parte construitur quas disciplinaliter magistrorum digiti reprimentes, grandissimam efficiunt, et suavissimam cantilenam."—CASSIOD. Cf. *Civiltà cattolica*, 22nd September 1851.

[3] There is a rhymed and very minute description of such an establishment (ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. v. p. 628 *et seq.*) in the prologue to the life of St. Swithin. At the same period Count Ailwin gave to the abbey of Ramsay an organ, which is thus described: "Cupreos organorum calamos, qui in alveo suo super unam cochlearum denso ordine feraminibus insidentes, et diebus festis follium spiramento fortiore pulsati, prædulcem melodiam et clangorem longius resonantem ediderunt." From this time the monks accustomed themselves to make this instrument and to play upon it. Cf. MABILL., *Ann.*, vol. ii. b. xxiii. c. 29, and *Præf. in sæc. III. Benedict.*, vi., No. 105.

[4] "Vir venerabilis Joannes. archicantator ecclesiæ S. Petri et abbas

The English seem to have been, among all the monks of the order of St. Benedict, those who loved music most passionately. An abbot of Jarrow, disciple and successor of the Venerable Bede, wrote to his compatriot St. Lullius, Archbishop of Mayence: "I am very anxious to have a harpist who can play upon the harp we call a *rote;* but I have the instrument, and I have not the artist. Send me one; and, I beg of you, do not laugh at my request."[1] This passion sometimes led to grave abuses. To repress them, the Council of Clonesham, in 747, ordered the expulsion from monasteries of all harpists, musicians, and buffoons.[2]

But the monks, thus zealous for music, thus skilful in making instruments and in musical composition, were no less devoted to the higher theory of the art. Throughout the middle ages, its principles were maintained and interpreted by their care, and the most famous authors upon music belonged to the Monastic Orders. A hundred years before the birth of St. Benedict, an Egyptian monk, St. Pambo, Abbot of Nitria, had written a treatise on psalmody.[3] Later, from century to century, we find a succession of monks authors of learned treatises on music, among whom chiefly figure Hucbald of St. Amand,[4] whose contemporaries or pupils were Reginon of Prüm, Rémy of Auxerre, Odo of

monasterii S. Martini . . . quatenus in monasterio suo cursum canendi annuum sicut ad S. Petri Romæ agebatur, edoceret. . . . Ordinem videlicet ritumque canendi ac legendi viva voce præfati monasterii cantatores edocendo, et ea . . . etiam litteris mandando. . . . Ipsum per loca in quibus doceret, multi invitare curabant."—BED., iv. 18.

[1] "Delectat me quoque citharistam habere, qui possit citharizare in cithara, quam nos appellamus *rotta*, quia citharam habeo, et artificem non habeo. . . . Obsecro ut hanc meam rogationem ne despicias, et risioni non deputes."—*Inter. Epist. S. Bonifac.*, No. 89, ed. SERRARIUS.

[2] "Monasteria non sint artium ludicrarum receptacula, hoc est poetarum, citharistarum, musicorum, scurrarum, sed orantium, legentium Deique laudantium habitationes."—C. 20.

[3] *Instituta Patrum de modo psaltendi sive cantandi*, published by the Prince-Abbot Gerbert of St. Blaise in his collection.

[4] Died in 932. *Mém. sur Hucbald et ses traités de musique*, by M. G. de COUSSEMAKER: Paris, Techener, quarto.

Cluny, Gerbert, Aurelien of Réome, and, later, William, Abbot of Hirschau; Engelbert, Abbot of Amberg; Hermannus Contractus, who, to all his other qualities, added that of being the most accomplished musician of his time;[1] and many others whom we have already named as among the luminaries of the Benedictine order.[2] St. Bernard, in his treatise *De Ratione Cantus*, gloriously continues this series of eminent writers, which was only to close at the end of the eighteenth century with another Gerbert, Prince-Abbot of St. Blaise in the Black Forest, editor of a celebrated collection of writers upon music, in which the highest rank is justly assigned to Benedictines.[3]

It is well known that the modern system of notation was first used in the monastery of Corbie, under Abbot Ratbold, and that after him Guido Aretino, by arranging the diatonic scale, became the inventor of the solfeggio; but how many people know that this Guido was a holy monk of the abbey of Pomposa near to Ravenna?[4]

Thus it is to an illustrious monk, St. Gregory the Great,

[1] "Cantus historiales plenarios, ut pote quo musicus peritior non erat, de S. Georgio, &c., &c., mira suavitate et elegantia euphonicos, præter alia hujus modi perplura neumatizavit et composuit." — BERTHOLDI, *Herimanni continuat.*, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 268. "In musica sane præ omnibus modernis subtilior exstitit et cantilenas plurimas de musica, cantusque de sanctis satis auctor nobiles edidit."—ANONYM. MELLICENS., ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 267.

[2] TRITHEMIUS, *Chron. Hirsaug., passim.*

[3] *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musicâ sacrâ, potissimum ex variis Italiæ, Galliæ et Germaniæ codicibus manuscriptis collecti, et nunc primum publica luce donati a* MARTINO GERBERTO, *monasterii et congr. S. Blasii, in silva Nigra abbate;* 3 vols., in-4°: Typis San Blasianis, MDCCLXXXIV.

[4] Ratbold died in 985; Guido was living in 1026. The former substituted the *notulæ caudatæ*, which are still used, for letters; Guido Aretino added to this the system of clefs and lines. Such is not the opinion of the most learned moderns who have written upon music. They affirm that Guido invented nothing of what is generally attributed to him, neither the lines nor the names of notes *ut, re, mi, fa*, but that he simply made intelligent use of all the methods already known, thus rendering to music the great service of introducing into its study that lucidity which belongs to the Italian mind. See MABILL., *Ann.*, vol. iv. book lix. No. 80; book lv.

that ecclesiastical music, the highest expression of the art, owes its origin. It is to a monk that modern music owes the increase of simplicity which has made its study less difficult. They were monks who, in the solitude of the Thebaïd as well as in the monasteries of the Black Forest, during fourteen hundred years, enriched the store of musical science by their researches and their treatises. They were, finally, poor monks who from the eighth to the twelfth century composed, in the solitude of the cloister and under the inspiration of prayer, those immortal masterpieces of the Catholic liturgy, misunderstood, mutilated, parodied or proscribed by the barbarous taste of modern liturgists, but in which true knowledge does not hesitate to acknowledge in our days an ineffable delicacy of expression, an inimitable mingling of the pathetic and powerful, the flowing and the profound, a soft and penetrating strength, and, to say all in few words, a beauty always natural, always fresh, always pure, which never becomes insipid, and which never grows old.[1]

Until their last day, faithful to their ancient glory, the monastic churches preserved the treasures of that divine melody which, in the words of the monk Ordericus Vitalis, never ended a single strain without having filled Christian hearts with peace and joy.[2]

No. 100; and Append., No. 7: FÉTIS, *Biographie des Musiciens*, article *Guy d'Arezzo:* KIESEWELLER, *Histoire de la musique Européenne.* See also what Ordericus Vitalis says as to the talent for musical composition displayed by various Norman abbots of the eleventh century, lib. iii. p. 95; iv. p. 247.

[1] "Un non so che di ammirabile ed inimitabile, una finezza di espressione indicibile, un pattetico che tocca, una naturalezza fluidissima: sempre fresco, sempre nuovo, sempre verde, sempre bello, mai non appassisse, mai non invecchia. . . ."—BAÏNI, master of the Pontifical Chapel of the Vatican, *Memorie storiche sulla vita di Palestrina*, vol. ii. c. 3, p. 81, quoted by JOUVE, *Essai sur le chant ecclésiastique*, in the *Annales archéologiques* of DIDRON, vol. v. p. 74. Cf. JANSENS, *Vrais Principes du chant grégorien*, p. 187. The learned writer Baïni adds, with too much reason, that the melodies substituted by the modern liturgy for these ancient masterpieces are stupid, heavy, discordant, cold, wearisome—"*stupide, insignificanti, fastidiose, absone, rogose.*"—*Ibid.*

[2] "Dulcis cantilena divini cultus, quæ corda fidelium mitigat ac lætificat, conticuit."—ORDER. VIT., book xiii. p. 908.

CHAPTER VI

THE MONKS AND AGRICULTURE.—THE MONKS AND THE POOR.—FUNDAMENTAL TENDENCY OF THE MONASTIC SPIRIT.

Agricultural monks.—Abbot-farmers.—Clearing done by monks.—The monk a martyr to overwork.—Comfort of peasants on monastic lands.—New industries introduced by monks.—Manufactures created by Benedictines.—Public works accomplished by them.—Irrigation and draining.—Foundations in fens.—Boldness and prudence.—Labour made honourable.—Poverty mitigated.—Regular alms.—Extraordinary charities.—The poor assimilated to the monks.—Almsgiving in poverty.—The poor of Cluny.—Work of a convent almoner.—Visiting the poor.—Care for the insane.—Monastic hospitality.—The bell of the wanderers.—Salvation the monks' only aim.

In trying to point out the innumerable services rendered to temporal society by men whose regular aim was the renunciation of all the competitions and all the advantages of worldly life, we have entered upon a field too vast for our powers. All that we can do is a brief survey of it. After having very superficially enumerated what monks have done for that chosen part of the human race which has leisure to cultivate science, literature, and art, we are bound also to point out in a few rapid sketches what they attempted to do for the good of that multitude whom God has destined to earn their bread by the sweat of their brows, and who find themselves too often powerless even to fulfil that hard law of their worldly condition.

Agriculture, as we all know, is the profession of the great majority of the human race. Now we can safely affirm that monks have done more for agriculture than for any other

science; and secondly, that no one has done so much as they for the improvement of the soil. It was their glory in Italy, in Spain, in Gaul, Germany, and Great Britain—so says a contemporary, too early lost to science [1]—to have commenced the clearing of the land, and by their labours to have revealed its fertility. It may be affirmed, without any exaggeration, that the rise of the monastic system was also the rise of free agriculture and industry in the world. The Cenobites were obliged to struggle with the barrenness of the lands where they established their retreats, just as they were obliged to contend against the darkness of the human intelligence and the depravity of the human heart. But their perseverance triumphed over all obstacles. Encouraged by the liberality of kings and nobles, they cut down woods, drained marshes, fertilised the sandy soil, conquered the first *polders* from the sea, and, as the reward of their devotion, which shrank neither from fatigue, sickness, nor death, they beheld vast fields, formerly bristling with brushwood or covered with stagnant and fetid waters, clothe themselves with harvests and with fruit. The very men whom we have just seen fulfilling with constant success the difficult task of teaching, who preserved and developed the tradition of the most delicate and refined arts—these very men quitted their cells, pick or axe in hand, to cut down forests, cultivate plains, drain swamps, and make known to the Christian world the wisest and the most productive of agricultural

[1] M. Paillard de St. Aignan. This writer has remarked the great resemblance which existed between the ancient monastery, as conceived by St. Benedict, and an agricultural colony established on a piece of land lately explored, and which was meant to be self-supplying. The author adds—and nothing can be more true—that a Benedictine monastery offers an exact copy of a rich Roman villa. Gardens, mills, ovens, stables, and workshops, grouped round a central building, complete the resemblance Varro would even have found there the slaves in their brown tunics, with cowls. But instead of the maledictions of the *ergastulum*, he would have heard the music of prayer, &c. M. de Courson, in the *Moniteur Universel* of March 1854, *Fragments sur les anciennes forêts*, made also the same remark.

methods! They carried on, side by side, labours of the most various kinds.[1] Since the world began, no class of men ever consecrated to the cultivation of the soil efforts more persevering and more fruitful.[2] This homage must be rendered to the order of St. Benedict, without, however, attempting to concentrate its services to this one single sphere.

At the same time, the ardent devotion of the Benedictines to the work of clearing and cultivating the soil, and the admirable results of their labours, may be easily explained. The principal cause may be found in the very Rule which regulated their life, dividing it between work and prayer, according to the traditions of the first solitaries of the East, and in obedience to the express will of St. Benedict. Just as the celebration of the offices of the Church several times in each day led the monks to cultivate and perfect their music with ever-increasing success, so the constant practice of the law of manual labour revealed to them the abundant resources of agriculture, and the ingenious and profitable applications of which it was capable.

The following extract from the Rule of St. Benedict will show how, by imposing upon the brothers of the order the great law of material labour, this Rule procured for the world such magnificent results: "Idleness is the enemy of the soul; therefore the brothers ought at certain hours to work with their hands, and at others to occupy themselves in sacred reading. We think right to regulate their time thus: From Easter to the kalends of October,[3] they shall go out in the morning and labour at whatever may be

[1] The Benedictine monk was by turns a religious thinker, a labourer, an artisan, a man of letters. He passed from the church to the studio, from the culture of the fields to the study of literature.—MIGNET, *Mémoire sur la conversion de l'Allemagne*, 1841, p. 141.

[2] To obtain a correct idea of the care given to agriculture by the monks, from their origin, it is needful to read an extract from the life of St. Mesmin, Abbot of Micy, borrowed from the *Act. SS. O. B.*, and quoted by M. A. de Courson in his work on Ancient Forests.

[3] From the 1st October to Lent they were to work from Tierce to Nones, and during Lent from Tierce to the tenth hour.

judged necessary from Prime until the fourth hour. From the fourth hour to Sexte they shall read. After Sexte and a meal, they shall rest in silence on their beds; or if any one wishes to read, he may do so, but without disturbing the others. After Nones, the brothers shall work until vespers. If poverty or any local necessity oblige the brothers to gather in their own harvest, let not this grieve them; for they may show themselves true monks while living by manual labour, as their fathers and the apostles did. But let everything be done with moderation, so as not to lay too great a burden of work on the feeble, who, however, ought not to be idle."[1]

If sometimes, as we have seen, the transcription of manuscripts and other intellectual tasks were considered equivalent to the cultivation of the soil, it is no less certain that study, and even the teaching of literature, did not absolutely dispense the monks thus engaged from the obligation of manual labour.[2] There was therefore still more reason that the

[1] "Otiositas inimica est animæ: et ideo certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione divina . . . Mane exeuntes . . . laborent quod necessarium fuerit. . . . Si autem necessitas loci aut paupertas exegerit ut ad fruges colligendas per se occupentur, non contristentur: quia tunc vere monachi sunt, si labore manuum suarum vivunt. . . . Omnia tamen mensurate fiant propter pusillanimes."—C. 48. Further on, this recommendation is thus developed: "Fratribus infirmis vel delicatis talis opera aut ars injungatur, ut nec otiosi sint, nec violentia laboris opprimantur."

[2] Certain chapters of the Benedictine Rule read like pages of Varro, Columella, or Cato. See DOM CALMET, vol. i. p. 514, on the thirty-second chapter of this Rule; and vol. ii. p. 424, on chapter lxvi.

The Benedictines knew how to practise, with the ardour and intelligent energy of free and devoted workmen, the excellent precepts of agriculture adopted at Lerins and Monte Cassino. For them, it is no exaggeration to say, the cultivation of the soil was like an immense alms spread over a whole country. By turns carpenters, masons, architects drawing the plans of great buildings, painters and goldsmiths employed in the decoration of churches, engineers engaged to drain marshes, to direct watercourses, and to confine rivers to their beds, the monks, when all these different tasks were accomplished, became once again farm-labourers, shepherds, and vine-dressers, more unwearied than the rudest peasants of their neighbourhood.

monks who did not give themselves up to learning, and the great number of nobles and soldiers who entered the monasteries of the tenth and eleventh centuries in the character of converts, should give proof of their industry in agricultural occupations. After the many incidents we have related of this laborious activity among the sons of kings, among princes, nobles, and knights, it will be sufficient here to recall to the reader some names, such as those of Carloman, uncle of Charlemagne; William, Duke of Aquitaine; Adalbert, son of a Duke of Bohemia; Hugh, Duke of Burgundy; Guy, Count of Albon; Hermann, Margrave of Baden; Frederic, brother of the Duke of Lorraine, and many others, who, having become monks, distinguished themselves by the zeal and courage with which they undertook the most painful and least varied labours. At the same time, it is well to remark that the abbots and other superiors themselves set the example of the bravest submission to toil. Each time that the government of monasteries or the general interests of the Church left these heads of communities any leisure, they were the first in the field at the head of the labouring monks. It was thus during the whole period of which we have sketched the history. In a previous chapter, we have shown Herluin, first abbot of the famous Abbey of Bec, occupied in digging, sowing, and weeding[1] the enclosure of the monastery which was soon after to receive Lanfranc and St. Anselm. It is expressly said of St. Benedict of Anagni, the great reformer of Monastic Orders under Charlemagne, that he guided the plough with the ploughmen, used the axe with the woodmen, and reaped with the reapers.[2] One story, related by St. Gregory the

[1] "Videres abbatem colo sementem, manu rostrum vel sarculum gestantem, ad agriculturam præire monachos," &c. Among the abbots placed over monasteries after the barbarian invasions, there was not one, we may say, whose biographer has not proved his participation in the labour of the soil—in ploughing, in harvesting, in mowing, &c.

[2] "Cum arantibus ipse arabat, cum fodientibus socius erat, cum messoribus metebat."—*Vit. S. Bened., auct.* ARDONE, *discip. suo*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. iv. pars i. p. 204.

Great respecting the holy Abbot Equutius, the eloquent missionary, contemporary with St. Benedict, proves this custom to have existed among Benedictines from the commencement of the order. One day a Papal envoy came to the monastery of this holy man in order to conduct him to Rome; but having gone to look for him among the copyists of the *Scriptorium*, was directed elsewhere by the caligraphers whom he questioned. Their answer was, "He is down there in the valley, cutting hay."[1]

If we tried to enumerate the different countries in which the beneficent influence of the monks in respect to agriculture was evident, it would be necessary to go over all the provinces of Europe from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Gulf of Bothnia, and from the north of Scotland to the mouths of the Danube. This would be a task equally long and superfluous; it is at once shorter and surer to invite the detractors of monastic institutions to seek and point out the country where the plough of the monk did not precede or at least develop that cultivation which has enriched an ungrateful posterity. Certainly we shall have to wait long for their answer.

We must not, however, judge these rural labours by the condition of monastic estates at the time of their confiscation. On the contrary, we should remember that for the most part monks established themselves in wild and not easily accessible places, which were left to them precisely because they were uncultivated, and no one was willing to undertake the task of clearing them.[2] It is certain that

[1] "Festine ad ejus monasterium cucurrit (Julianus), ibique absente illo antiquarios scribentes reperit, ubi abbas esset inquisivit. Qui dixerunt: In valle hac quæ monasterio subjacet, fœnum secat."—S. GREG. MAG., *Dialog.*, i. 4. As Père Cahier remarks (xviii. 150), in these two lines what a perspective, what a flood of light on the future of an institution then in its cradle!

[2] "It must be said that the monks alone seemed to have any regard for the soil. It was of no value, it produced nothing; they had only to wish for it in order to obtain possession of it. They did wish for it; and great was the advantage to humanity, for even in this matter they for-

generally the lands granted to monasteries were of no value, and such as the donors did not think worth keeping for themselves. In the time of St. Gregory VII., as well as in that of St. Seine and St. Eyroul, in the sixth and seventh centuries, most of the abbeys rose in inaccessible forests, on sites considered almost uninhabitable even by the rude and energetic populations of that period. Chaise-Dieu, in Auvergne;[1] La Grande-Sauve, in Aquitaine;[2] Reichenbach, in Suabia;[3] Anchin and Afflighem, in Belgium[4] (to quote only some of the chief foundations of the eleventh century),—were built in the midst of vast forests, furrowed by ravines, peopled by wild beasts and brigands, which it was only possible to cross by cutting a path, axe in hand, through reeds and brushwood. They were forced to resign themselves to live for long years in these unproductive solitudes, in a constant struggle with hunger and with the inclemency of the seasons, before they could fertilise them by their labour. But the monks never shrank from this necessity. Throughout the twelfth century we find the new order of Cistercians seeking, with care and perseverance,

warded civilisation. They cleared unbroken lands, repeopled abandoned countries, founded parishes, . . . established markets, converted rivers into highways."—GIRAUD, *Recherche sur les coutumes de Bretagne, Revue de législ.*, vol. i. (xvii.) p. 585.

[1] In 1046. "Inveniunt spinas et vepres, horrorem ac solitudinem, locum bonis omnibus indigentem. . . . Auxit loci difficultates vicinorum improbitas, qui morum immanitate feris consimiles, servos Dei, quos sustentare deberent, conviciis urgebant et minis, insanos etiam judicantes, qui locum sterilem, quem vel si copias attulissent, non essent passuri, nihil habentes cœpissent incolere. Incolarum mitigabat pristinam feritatem, paulatimque eos brutis moribus exuens, tanquam de feris homines faciebat."—MARBOD, *Vit. S. Roberti, abb. Casæ Dei*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars ii. pp. 192–94.

[2] In 1079. "Sylva in circuitu tam densa vepribus et sentibus creverat, quod nullus ad ecclesiam appropinquare poterat, nisi gladio aut alio aliquo ferramento prius iter fecisset."—*Vit. S. Gerardi*, c. 20, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 886.

[3] In 1083. "Prædiolum nemore densissimo hispidum."—TRITHEM., *Chron. Wirsaug.*, i. 255.

[4] In 1079 and 1083.

the wildest and most inaccessible sites, on which to establish its innumerable foundations.[1]

In the middle of last century much was said about the pretended discovery of the famous valley of Chamouny at the foot of Mont Blanc. The *savants* of the time declared that it had remained unknown to Europe until 1741, when it was penetrated, not without difficulty, by some English travellers.[2] It is very true that Chamouny was only then pointed out to the idle curiosity of the public; but it ought not to be forgotten that long before Pococke and Windham, St. Francis of Sales had passed the defiles which lead to this hidden corner of his diocese, with hands and feet bruised until they bled as he climbed; or that in the year 1090 the Benedictines obtained of Count Aymon of Geneva the gift of this valley, then entirely uncultivated and uninhabited, and that they founded a priory there,[3] the territory of which, gradually brought under cultivation, was found, in 1330,[4] to be so populous as to require a code to regulate the relations of the inhabitants among themselves, toward the monks, and towards strangers. Naturally the *savants* of the eighteenth century, even while they ate bread made from grain harvested in the desert that had been long ago reclaimed by the monks, did not deign to recall their memory; and the

[1] Is it necessary to recall to our contemporaries the admirable achievements of the Cistercians of our own days in Africa? The clearings of La Trappe de Staouëli prove, certainly, that the sons of St. Bernard have not degenerated, but have known how to remain faithful to the tradition which for thirteen hundred years has constituted the glory of the Monastic Orders.

[2] Pococke and Windham. M. de Saussure followed them in 1760.

[3] The deed of gift was found in an old coffer at Chamouny and published by SHERWILL, an Englishman, *Historical Sketch of Chamouny:* Paris, 1832. Count Aymon there fixes the limits of the valley from the Dioza, near Servoz, to the Col de Balme, and gives the whole to the Benedictines under the name of *Campus munitus*, a very natural etymology for the modern name *Chamouni* or *Chamonix*. It is seven and a half leagues in circumference.

[4] January 12, 1330. The inhabitants are there described as *Communiens.*

Revolution acted in the same manner by them when she expelled them from the place which owes to them its cultivation, its population, and even its name. This is, indeed, the history of a thousand such colonies spread over the face of Europe.[1]

To triumph over the numberless obstacles opposed to these pioneers of Christianity by nature, and too often by the ingratitude or violence of men, demanded an ardour and a perseverance more than human. These qualities the Benedictines drew from that spirit of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice which constituted their power in this world, and from the hope of that heavenly reward which should one day follow their humble submission to voluntary toil. Thus discouragement was unknown to them. What though they saw their labours fail, their cultivation disappear, their lives wasted in profitless efforts; they returned to the charge, they or their spiritual descendants, until the day when victory declared for them. In vain the barbarian hordes—Saracens, Normans, Huns, Danes—came from all quarters to ravage their harvests, burn their buildings, and quench in blood the smoking ruins of their monasteries; new monks continually presented themselves to take up the work of the martyrs, and to recommence the struggle even in those very spots where it had been most sanguinary.

Thus, after the horrible devastation of Brittany by the Normans in the tenth century, when that province was but one vast funeral pile, and briers were growing in the very sanctuary of the cathedral of Nantes, we find the monks of Rhuys, with their abbot, St. Felix, at their head, setting them an example of toil and courage, and beginning at once to rebuild the ruined monasteries and houses, to plough

[1] The country which separates Belgium from Holland, and which is called La Campine, was cleared by the Premonstratensians of Averbode and of Tongerloo, who served as parish priests to more than 100 parishes in that country, and who, until the spoliation by the French in 1793, taught the peasants agriculture as well as Christianity.—VERHOEVEN, *op. cit.*, p. 79; AUBERT MIRÆUS.

the fields, to plant vines and orchards, and thus bring back fertility and life to the country.[1]

We see also, in the seventh century, in spite of the sacrifice of one as a martyr, other monks undertaking to clear the Black Forest in Suabia. A young Irish prince, Trudpert, brother to the first Bishop of Salzburg, had chosen a desert valley at Brisgau for his retreat. He was not less than three years clearing this solitude, rooting out the brushwood and levelling the ground.[2] As laborious as if he had been born in some rude peasant family, Trudpert, when he had worked all day, spent most of the night in prayer. One day at noon, when, yielding to fatigue, he had fallen asleep,[3] one of the six workmen given to him by the seigneur of the place, angry with the saint for having made him work too hard, split his skull with the stroke of a hatchet.[4] A monastery soon rose upon the site consecrated by the death of this martyr to labour; and from that moment until the eleventh century, the Black Forest became one of the chief centres of the activity of the Benedictines.

Thanks to this indomitable perseverance, the monks were enabled to bring agriculture to a perfection such as it had never before attained, and to make the ancestors of their future spoilers aware of the value of the land. Unlike most successful enterprises in this world, the growing pro-

[1] "In solitudinem et vastum cremium omnino tota regio, Dei judicio. . . . Erant in ipsis ecclesiis cubilia ferarum. . . . Videbatur omnibus laboriosum et valde difficile aggredi tam immensum opus: sed ille non dubitavit invadere illud . . . domos ædificavit, vineas plantavit atque pomaria."—*Act. S. Gild.*, ap. AURÉLIEN DE COURSON, *Hist. des peuples Bretons*, ii. 370, 373. Cf. *Chron. Nannet.*, apud D. BOUQUET, vol. viii. p. 256.

[2] "Hanc vallem prorsus incultam propriis manibus cœpit excolere, exstirpare virgulta, fruteta purgare, cœquare solo tumores, aptare planitiem, ac tanquam non principis sed agricolæ filius genitus ad labores."—*Vit. S. Ruperti*, ap. CANISIUM, *Lect. antiq.*, pars ii. p. 319.

[3] "Fatigatus ex labore meridiano . . . super scamnum se quoddam ut somno reficeretur, aliquantisper ex nimia lassitudine reclinavit."—*Ibid.*

[4] *Vit. S. Rudperti*, in *Act. SS. Bolland.*, *die* 26 *April.* Cf. M. GERBERTI, *Historia silvæ Nigræ*, vol. i. pp. 46–54.

sperity of the monks harmed no one; for it was only at the expense of forests, deserts, rocks, swamps, or the sea, that they managed to enrich themselves. They never attempted to drain their estates of all that they could produce,[1] for they thought of the future, and would neither exhaust the soil nor the men who lived on it. As soon as they were in possession of a new estate, and before deriving the least profit from it, they always gave up to the poor, who gathered round them everywhere, those *essarts*, or clearings, which were intended for them.[2]

The numerous rural population which invariably grouped itself about each monastery, shared largely in its wellbeing, and found under its gentle and paternal administration, together with spiritual assistance and security for life, an exemption from very many of the oppressive burdens which have at all times weighed heavily upon dwellers in the country. In proportion as monastic property increased in extent and value, the peasants of the neighbourhood saw their own small fortunes gradually enlarge, and they ended by being, as it were, put in possession, in the monks' stead, of a portion of their domains. This revolution was greatly favoured by the easy conditions which the monks earnestly desired to make with the labourers whom they employed. To quote only one example of this, let us remind the reader

[1] This was one of the principal arguments opposed by spoilers of our own days in the Swiss Diet to the monasteries of the canton of Argovia; and they made it a pretext for giving these monasteries lay administrators, even before confiscating all their goods for revolutionary purposes. At the same time, with the usual logic of spoilers, they accused these very monks of being too rich. It was in vain for the victims to answer that, if they were too rich, it proved their administration not to have been bad—while, on the other hand, if their administration had been bad, it was absurd to accuse them of being too rich; force triumphed over justice and reason, and the convents of Argovia have disappeared, notwithstanding the federal pact which guaranteed their existence.

[2] "Dedit quoque omnes incisiones ipsius sylvæ quæ ad præsens tunc factæ erant, et quæ deinceps faciendæ essent, causa seminandi, ab omnibus qui operari ibi voluissent."—*Charta de fundat. S. Genesii Thiernensis*, ap. BRANCHE, *l'Auvergne au moyen âge.*

that Monte Cassino, the queen of all the Western abbeys, took from the farmers who cultivated its lands only one-seventh of the grain and one-third of the wine produced.[1] Never hoping for an immediate return, and having no families to enrich, they could easily offer to their tenants, the farmers associated with their vast agricultural experiments, profits which encouraged them to labour, and yet left wholesome leisure for the care of their souls. Thus most of them recognised the truth of the saying which gratitude rendered popular in Germany, "It is good living under the crosier."[2] The system of farming pursued by the monks was as skilful as it was beneficent. With what art and what care did they consult the exigencies of soil and climate, so as to bring old modes of culture to perfection and to introduce new ones! An eminent historian of the present day, in his *Picture of the State of the Church under Innocent III.*,[3] has devoted his incomparable learning and his rare clear-sightedness to examining and describing the services rendered by monasteries to Christian nations

[1] This law was introduced by Abbot Aligernus of Monte Cassino when, in 960, he wished to repeople the lands of his monastery, laid waste and burned by the Saracens: "Prudens abbas, a vicinis terris, quæ vastatæ non fuerint, agricolis mox evocatis in possessiones illos monasterii quot-quot cultoribus indigebant, cum universis eorum familiis habitaturos induxit: placito tam cum eis quos ibi invenerat, quam eis quos ipse conduxerat, libellari statuto, ut de tribus totius ejusdem terræ redditibus, hoc est tritici et hordei ac milii, partem septenam: de vino autem tertiam annualiter monasterio darent: cetera in suis suorumque usibus possiderent: quod usque hodie stabiliter ac perenniter observatur."—LEO OSTIENS., *Chron. Cassin.*, l. ii. c. 3.

[2] "*Unter dem Krummstab ist es gut wohnen;*" and the populations subjected, since the secularisation of the ecclesiastical sovereignties in 1802, to the rule of modern States, must often repeat it. This saying applied equally to bishoprics and to abbeys; but we have shown that most of the German dioceses were founded by monks, or, like Fulda, Warden, &c., arose from the transformation of some great monastery into a see.

[3] HURTER, *History of Innocent III.*, vol. iii. book 21, c. 7. The last two volumes of this book have been partly translated by M. de St. Cheron, under the very fitting title we have given in our text of *Tableau de l'état de l'Église sous Innocent III.*

with regard to work of this kind. We could only copy from him, and we choose rather to refer our readers to his book.

It would be a long but easy and interesting task to complete this enumeration by examining the different works which treat of agricultural progress in each country. We should see everywhere how the monks instructed the population in the most profitable methods and industries,—naturalising under a rigorous sky the most useful fruits and the most productive grain; importing continually into the countries they colonised, animals of a better breed, or plants new and unknown there before; here introducing the rearing of cattle and horses—there, bees; in another place the brewing of beer with hops; in Sweden the corn trade; in Burgundy, artificial pisciculture;[1] in Ireland, salmon fisheries;[2] about Parma, cheese-making;[3] finally, occupying themselves with the culture of the vine,[4] and planting the best vineyards of Burgundy,[5] the Rhine, Auvergne, and England, and in several other countries from whence the vine has now disappeared.[6] In their

[1] Dom Pinchon, a monk of Moûtier St. Jean, proposed to propagate trout artificially by a process described in a MS. dated 1420, and published by the Baron de Montgaudry, *La Pisciculture*, p. 1012.

[2] The monks of Cork.—DIGBY, *Mores Catholici*, vol. x. p. 488.

[3] PADRE ANGELO FUMAGALLI'S *Antichità Longobardiche-Milanesi.*

[4] The famous vineyard of Clos-Vougeot owes its existence to the Cistercian monks; that of Johannisberg to the monks of Fulda; those of the Bergstrasse were planted by the Abbey of Lorsch; those, still much admired, of Weilheim and Bissingen, by St. Peter's in the Black Forest. There are a thousand similar instances.

[5] The Benedictines of La Voute brought vines from Beaune to plant on the banks of the Allier; those of Pébrac covered the valleys near their monastery with fruit-trees brought from the Vivarais. Lower Auvergne owes to the monks of Mozat its abundance of walnut-trees, still so valuable. Chaise-Dieu was a great centre of trade and of agricultural improvements, on account of the possessions of the Abbey scattered in different provinces, the productions of which were necessarily gathered there.—BRANCHE, *l'Auvergne au moyen âge*, p. 463.

[6] The monks of Croyland introduced it even into the fens of Ely.—MATT. PARIS. For curious details as to the many monasteries which

double solicitude for the improvement of cultivation and for the wellbeing of the people under their guardianship, the monks on the one hand established the outlets indispensable for the commerce and industry which were, in their time, first beginning to be practised; and on the other hand, they effected vast works of public utility which no power but theirs could have undertaken. The most frequented fairs and markets had chiefly their origin in the pilgrimages which assembled the faithful from different countries at the monastery doors.[1] The manufacture of linen and of cloth especially, was everywhere brought to perfection by monks.[2] At St. Florent-lez-Saumer, they set up in the tenth century a flourishing manufacture of tapestry. In Normandy it was they who introduced the processes by which skins were prepared for the tanner, and it is from these processes that St. Pierre sur Dives still derives its prosperity.[3] In Lombardy the weaving of cloth and of silk, one of which employed in the twelfth century 60,000 souls, and the other 40,000, were begun by the Benedictine order of Humiliates, of which St. Bernard was the founder.[4] In Pomerania and Prussia the Cistercians were the first to introduce the weaving of cloth; and it was from a few scattered nunneries that Belgium derived those famous manufactures of lace which, under the names of Mechlin, Valenciennes, and Brussels, have done so much to enrich the country.[5]

The services rendered to society by the monks through the great works which were allied to their agricultural experiments, were, however, far more extended and uni-

cultivated vines in the north of France, see the learned *Mémoire* of Dr. Fuster on the *Changements opérés dans le climat de la France*, inserted in *Le Correspondant*, vol. x. p. 439 *et seq.*, 1845, and since published separately.

[1] We find a curious enumeration in BRANCHE, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

[2] GÖRRES, *Hist. polit. Blätter*, vol. xvii. p. 482.

[3] L. DE GLANVILLE, preface to the new edition of *L'Histoire des miracles*, by l'Abbé Haymon.

[4] CESARE CANTU, *Milano e il suo territorio*, 1844, vol. i. p. 23.

[5] VERHŒVEN, *Mémoire sur la constitution belge*, p. 114.

versal. After having cut down forests wherever they obstructed the progress of cultivation and population, the Benedictines watched with enlightened care over the conservation of those same forests, the gradual disappearance of which brought about so many evil consequences to the climate or the fertility of the soil. They planted trees wherever the need for them was felt. In their management of water there was the same prevision, the same laborious care. Everywhere we may admire their endeavours to make fish-ponds, to distribute the water of springs,[1] to build dikes along the coast, to rectify river-courses, to prevent inundations, to fence in alluvial lands, to keep up ferries on the swiftest streams, and to construct bridges, whose solidity, boldness, and elevation still astonish the eyes of travellers.[2]

Some English writers have attributed to the monks the invention of drainage. A proprietor bought a kitchen-garden once belonging to a monastery. Struck by the extreme fertility of this garden, the Englishman greatly increased it in size. But as the newly-added piece of land gave no products comparable to those of the old, the soil was turned up, and a complete system of trenches and pipes for drainage was found. Is this story strictly true? It is, at all events, affirmed by men most worthy of credit. However that may be, the monks never ceased to labour with invincible perseverance for the salubrity and fertility of the earth, drying up swamps and creating immense pas-

[1] The monks of the Abbeys of St. Laurent and St. Martin were the first to bring together and conduct to Paris the waters of springs which were wasting themselves either in the Prés St. Gervais or at Belleville.—HORACE SAY, *Études sur l'administration de Paris.*

[2] It was a monk of Einsiedeln who built the first bold bridge, known by the name of the Devil's Bridge.—*Chron. d'Einsied.*, c. 27. See the enumeration of bridges built by monks on the rivers of Auvergne in BRANCHE, *l'Auvergne au moyen âge*, p. 470. It is known that a special order called the Frères Pontifes was instituted by a shepherd, St. Benezet, builder of the famous bridge of Avignon, in 1177.—*Act. S. Bolland., die* 14 *April*, p. 260.

turages by irrigation. Lombardy owes the system of irrigation which has made it the most fertile country of Europe, to the Cistercians brought into the neighbourhood of Milan by St. Bernard.[1] They were not content with cutting through swamps health-bringing channels and indestructible roads, which brought upon them the benedictions of all Christian people,[2] but they established their own abode in such places, in order to be less distracted from their work. Soon, thanks to their industry, and to the wholesome influence of good example, inaccessible and pestiferous swamps became centres of life and population. In France, Clairmarais, near St. Omer, still bears in its name the proof of such an origin. In England, illustrious abbeys were founded in such situations: thus Glastonbury, Croyland, Ramsey,[3] Thorney, above all, Ely,[4] now become an episcopal city. More than once, in the following pages, we shall have occasion to revert to these great monastic achievements. We cannot resist the desire to place here

[1] See the special treatise of P. FUMAGALLI, *Sull' Irrigazione dei prati promossa ed esteza dei monaci di Chiarivalle*, in vol. ii. of *Antichità Longobar.-Milan*, p. 133. "I monaci Cisterciense aveano fra noi dilatato i prati perenne regolandone le acque in modo si artificioso, che ogni anno si facea triplice ricolto di fieno, oltre restarvi la pastura per le bestie."—CANTU, *Milano e il suo territorio*, p. 23. Cf. LAVEZARI, *Elementi d'Agricoltura*, Milano, 1784; GRÉGOIRE, *Essai sur l'agriculture en Europe;* L'ABBÉ SIBOUR, *Discour sur l'alliance de la religion et de l'agriculture*, Aix, 1844.

[2] Abbot Egelric, who became Bishop of Durham in the reign of Edward the Confessor, caused the great fen of Deeping to be crossed by a solid road constructed with logs and sand—an immense work, which was called, after him, Elrichrode, and which caused his name to be blessed by all the inhabitants of the central parts of England.—INGULPH. CROYLAND, p. 64, Gale's edition.

[3] "Habeo" (it is Duke Ailwin, the founder, who speaks) . . . "fundum quemdam . . . palustri uligine circumseptum. . . . Ab hominum frequentia alienus et solitariæ conscius est tranquillitatis. . . . Videns vir sanctus locum mariscorum paludibus undique cinctum, . . ." &c.—*Vit. S. Oswald*, . . . in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. v. p. 759. Cf. EADMER, in *Angl. Sacra*, vol. ii. p. 199.

[4] "Est quædam regio famosa . . . paludibus et aquis in modum insulæ circumdata, unde et a copia anguillarum quæ in eisdem paludibus capiuntur, *Elige* nomen accepit."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. v. c. 23, p. 615.

before our readers the picture which an old historian has drawn of one of these fen-dwellings in the centre of England. Of Thorney Abbey,[1] founded by St. Ethelwald, William of Malmesbury writes as follows: "It is a counterfeit of Paradise, where the gentleness and purity of heaven appear already to be reflected. In the midst of the fens rise groves of trees, which seem to touch the stars with their tall and slender tops: the charmed eye wanders over a sea of verdant herbage; the foot which treads the wide meadows meets with no obstacle in its path. Not an inch of land lies uncultivated. Here, the soil is hidden by fruit-trees; there, by vines spread upon the ground or trained on trellises. Nature and art rival each other, the one supplying all that the other forgot to produce. What can we say of the beauty of the buildings? Who would not be astonished to see vast edifices rise upon firm foundations in the midst of the marsh? O deep and pleasant solitude! you have been given by God to the monks, so that their mortal life may daily bring them nearer to heaven!"[2]

If, then, injustice and ingratitude have truly reproached the monks with the possession of the most fertile lands, the richest meadows, and the most profitable orchards, these were the fruit of their own toil, the consequence of the service they had rendered to Christian nations, and of the benefits which, for ten centuries, they had heaped upon the indigent and labouring classes. Hence their riches—the most legitimate in their origin, and the most honourably employed, that ever existed. Hence that visible blessing of God upon possessions which realised so manifestly the

[1] "*Thorneie* propter condensitatem dumorum vocata. At vero Ethewoldus vepres extirpari, spinas sarciri jussit."—GUILLELM. MALMESB., *de Gest. pontif.*, p. 169, ed. Savile.

[2] "Paradisi simulacrum, quod amœnitate jam cœlos ipsos imaginetur, in ipsis paludibus arborum ferax, quæ enodi proceritate luctantur ad sidera, æquorea planities herbarum viridantibus comis oculos advocat, currentibus per campum nullus offensioni datur locus. . . . Solitudo ingens ad quitem data monachis, ut eo tenacius hæreant superis, quo castigatius mortales conspicantur."—GUILL. MALMESB., *ubi supra*.

words of the royal prophet: "Thou visitest the earth, and waterest it: Thou greatly enrichest it with the river of God, which is full of water: Thou preparest them corn, when Thou hast so provided for it. Thou waterest the ridges thereof abundantly: Thou settlest the furrows thereof: Thou makest it soft with showers: Thou blessest the springing thereof. Thou crownest the year with thy goodness; and Thy paths drop fatness. They drop upon the pastures of the wilderness: and the little hills rejoice on every side. The pastures are clothed with flocks; the valleys also are covered over with corn; they shout for joy, they also sing."—Psalm lxv.

Thanks to the constant and strict economy of the monks, their farming was a model of bold and prosperous toil; and exhibited to all the most perfect union of prudence and ambitious effort. Up to the last day of the existence of the monasteries, and from one end of Europe to the other, the superiority of their administration and of the products of their lands over those of lay proprietors, has been formally proved; a just and striking recompense, it must be owned, for their admirable activity—a noble homage which cannot be refused to them even by those who contributed to their ruin and enriched themselves with their spoils.[1]

Catholics owe to them another homage and justice—the

[1] See, among others, for Germany, the work of Fabricius, entitled, *Ueber den Werth der geistlichen Staaten und Regierungen in Deutschland*, Frankfort, 1797; and for the Spanish peninsula, the remarkable avowals of Lord Carnarvon, in his *Journey through Portugal and Galicia*, London, 1839, pp. 219, 220, 393, &c. Both these authors are Protestants. See, also, the journeys of Beckford and Murphy in Portugal. I will add, that my own observations of these unhappy countries, though too rapid, inspired precisely the same convictions as those of these writers on the excellent mode of cultivation, and on the good fortune of the inhabitants on estates belonging to those monasteries which modern Vandalism has just suppressed. The farming of the Trappists in France, who are objects of so much jealousy and so many hindrances, may furnish the same demonstration.

acknowledgment that they gave to the Christian world a most grand and most salutary lesson, by ennobling manual labour, which in the degenerate Roman world had been exclusively reserved for slaves. The monks taught this lesson,—first, by consecrating to agriculture the energy and intelligent activity of freemen, often of high birth, and clothed with the double authority of the priesthood and of hereditary nobility; and, secondly, by associating, under the Benedictine habit, the sons of kings, princes, and nobles with the rudest labours of peasants and serfs.

Let us remember that honour rendered to poverty has always been one of the rules of the Benedictine order, and the love of the poor one of its principal cares. For the children of St. Benedict almsgiving was the first duty of the rich: an army of the poor, relieved by their hands, formed the fairest ornament of their domains. "It matters little," said one abbot of the eleventh century,[1] "that our churches rise to heaven, that the capitals of their pillars are sculptured and gilded, that our parchment is tinted purple, that gold is melted to form the letters of our manuscripts, and that their bindings are set with precious stones, if we have little or no care for the members of Christ, and if Christ Himself lies naked and dying before our doors."[2]

It is above all due to the monks, that poverty, which had been proscribed and despised among the degraded Romans, was placed under the protection of the Church, ennobled and lifted to the top of the social scale—that pauperism, that scourge of modern times, was, as it were, strangled in its cradle—that alms became a certain and universal resource for the poor—and that inequality of fortune, that evil in-

[1] Thieffroy, Abbot of Epternach, died in 1106.

[2] "Non appetunt sancti in altum exstructa oratoriorum ædificia, non ex auro fabricata columnarum epistylia . . . non ut membranæ purpureo colore inficiantur; non ut aurum liquescat in litteras; non ut gemmis codices vestiantur; et membrorum Christi aut minima aut nulla diligentia habeatur, et nudus ante fores eorum Christus moriatur."—*Flores Epitaphii Sanctorum*, Luxemb., 1619, ap. MABILLON, *Ann.*, l. lxxi., No. 23.

separable from all forms of society, ceased, up to a certain point, to produce the saddest and most dangerous of its consequences.

We can understand, from what has already been said of the nature of monastic cultivation, how misery disappeared from tracts of country farmed or possessed by monks. The permanence of constant and moderate work, with assured privileges, kept want at bay, and consolidated a firmly-founded prosperity. In the day of distress, in the midst of the greatest calamities, the charity of abbeys everywhere opened asylums for the indigent. In famines and in epidemics, it was to the doors of the monasteries that the afflicted hastened, sure of there finding shelter, consolation, and help; for they knew that the last penny the monks possessed belonged to them, and that the most precious treasures would be freely sacrificed to bring succour to the suffering members of Jesus Christ. This was abundantly proved in the great famine of 1031, by the admirable charity of Abbot Odilon of Cluny, who sold even the golden globe he had received from the Emperor St. Henry; and of Abbot William of St. Benigne, who stripped the tomb of the holy patron of his abbey of the gems, pearls, and precious metals which covered it, and employed them in feeding the hungry. In the famine of the year 1000, Leopic, Abbot of St. Albans, sold the sacred vases, and used to buy food for the poor all the money long kept in reserve for building a new church. "The faithful of Christ," said he, "and, above all, the poor, are the true temple of God, and the one which we must most carefully build up and preserve."[1] A century later, in 1140, a year when the harvest failed, another Abbot of St. Albans, Geoffrey, distinguished himself by the same charity. He had caused the celebrated goldsmith Anketil to make, at great cost,

[1] "Fideles Christi et maxime pauperes, Dei esse ecclesiam et templum, et ipsum specialiter ædificandum et conservandum."—MATT., *Vit. abb.*, p. 42.

the famous shrine of which we have already spoken, destined to hold the relics of the first English martyr. But seeing the misery of the people, he caused the shrine to be stripped of the silver plates and precious stones which were already set on it, and sold the whole to buy food for the starving.[1] In 1082, at the height of the contest between St. Gregory VII. and Henry IV., when famine was most severe in Germany, thousands of the poor escaped death, thanks to the charity of the Abbey of Gottweih, lately founded by one of the Pope's legates.[2]

This charity did not show itself only in emergencies and periods of extraordinary distress; it formed, so to speak, part of the daily life of the monks, in due proportion to the wealth of each abbey. Some instances will suffice to show the facts which meet us on every page of history, and which we bring forward less to do honour to the monks than to enlighten certain minds which are *uncharitable, because ignorant.*

If we examine the chronicles of different abbeys, and the constitutions peculiar to them, we shall see that almsgiving was systematised with equal precision and solicitude: these minute details form so many rays in the crown of monastic glory.

The special regulations which Archbishop Lanfranc, monk of Bec, gave to English monks, instituted in each house an almoner expressly commissioned to seek out in the neighbourhood all the infirm and helpless poor.[3]

[1] "Laminas argenteas sed nondum deauratas, cum quibusdam gemmis incastonatis, fecit avelli, et omnia redegit in numisma; et emi exinde jussit victualia, ut pauperes inde sustentarentur, fame tabescentes."—MATT. PARIS, *Vit. XXIII. abbat. S. Alb.*, p. 37, ed. Watts.

[2] *Vit. S. Altamni*, ap. GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 455.

[3] "Eleemosynarius aut per se, si opportunum sibi est, perquirat, aut per veraces et fideles homines cum multa sollicitudine perquiri faciat, ubi ægri et debiles jaceant, qui non habent unde se sustinere valeant."—*Decret. pro Ord. S. Bened.*, c. 8, sect. iii. p. 257. M. A. de Courson, in a work on ancient forests, published in the *Moniteur universel* in 1854, says: "We must not believe that even in the most remote provinces it was in those days impos-

In Picardy, at Corbie, St. Adelard commanded[1] that there should be distributed each day, at the hospital for the poor which adjoined the monastery, forty-five loaves, weighing three pounds and a half each, and five wheaten loaves; but he takes care to add that this number is to be increased if more travellers or pilgrims than usual shall arrive, for he does not wish the portion of each individual to be lessened.[2] This is not all: the generous nephew of Charlemagne notes, in writing, all that is to be given to the poor in drink, vegetables, clothing, cheese, and money; he declares that a fifth of the tithes of cattle and farm-produce is to have the same destination; and he concludes his charitable regulations by charging the monks intrusted with the office of hospitallers to show themselves less parsimonious than himself.[3]

At St. Cyprien of Poitiers, when a monk died, the almoner took his *livery*, or portion, for thirty days and distributed it to the poor. This almoner "every day at the sound of the bell gave alms to every one who came and went; kept up

sible to find skilful doctors. The acts of the saints of Bretagne prove, in fact, that in the depths of Armorica, St. Melaine, St. Malo, and St. Magloire practised medicine in the fields as well as in the cities. Educated by Druids converted to Christianity, the apostles of Bretagne acquired, if not a deep and well-founded science, at least a medical skill built upon a long experience. From the time of the famous Elpidus—the priest of Lyons whom Theodoric, King of the Ostrogoths, called to his court as physician—the healing art never ceased to be cultivated among the Gauls. Thus Reovalis, a doctor of Poitiers, went to study in the land of Hippocrates, and many disciples profited by his lessons. On the other hand, the biographer of St. Prix tells us that this bishop collected several skilful physicians in his hospital at Clermont, where twenty beds were always filled with sick people (seventh century).

"Ferrières, St. Gall, and many other communities, had installed a medical service and a pharmacy in the midst of forests and mountains."

[1] "Quales vassali accipiunt."

[2] D'ACHERY, *Spicileg.*, vol. i. p. 486; *notæ ad* GUIBERT. NOVIG., *Opera*, p. 582.

[3] "Obsecramus igitur omnes, quibus ordinandi fuerit officium in hoc monasterio, ut, in largitate ac distributione, Dei potius attendant voluntatem, quam nostræ parcitatis exemplum, quoniam unusquisque est pro se redditurus rationem."—*Ibid., lib. I. de Miraculis S. Adalardi*, ap. CIROT, *Hist. de la Sauve-Majeure*, vol. i. p. 402.

five beds in his house for the sick poor; and was commissioned to pay a woman to nurse, feed, and wash for the said poor. On the Monday after the Sacrament thirteen of them received each two loaves weighing two and a half pounds, two herrings, two dishes of beans worth four deniers; while to six score other poor people there was given each a loaf weighing one pound, one dish of beans, and one herring."[1] At Willich, near Bonn on the Rhine, the Abbess St. Adelaide of Luxemburg[2] commanded that fifteen of the poor should be fed and clothed for ever with the annual income of one of the manors belonging to the monastery, which to this end should be considered as belonging to God; while the food of fifteen other poor persons was to be provided, throughout the year, from the provisions of the community, which was also to pay to each of these pensioners fifteen sols on Christmas Day, and twelve sols at each feast of an apostle.[3]

One of the principal peculiarities of monastic almsgiving was the assimilation of the poor to the monks themselves. Thus in the Italian monasteries three poor men sat down daily at the abbot's table, and received the same portion as the brothers.[4] At Marmoutier in Touraine, the same custom remained in force until the end of the twelfth century; the three guests were regarded as representing the actual person of Christ.[5] At Moissac in Gascony, the same mode prevailed; and besides this, on Holy Thursday they distributed wine and a little money to two hundred of the poor. At Selby in Yorkshire, Abbot Hugh was accustomed, every day at dinner, first to help all the monks to soup, and then to fetch from the kitchen and place on his own table two por-

[1] REDET, *Rapport sur les titres de S. Cyprien*, ap. *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 1842.

[2] Died in 1015.

[3] *Vit. S. Adelheidis abbat., auct.* BERTHA, *sanctimon. coæquali*, c. 2, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi., pars prima, p. 142 *et seq.* We may read in this biography the story of the tender precautions taken by the Abbess of Willich to nourish the poor and sick, during a famine, with her own hands.

[4] S. PETRI DAMIANI, *Opusc.*, 33, c. 7.

[5] In 1182. Ep. GUIBERT. GEMBLACENS., in MARTÈNE, *Thes. anecd.*, i. 606.

tions intended for the poor, which he compared with his own, to be quite sure that they equalled it.[1] At Ratisbon, the holy Abbot Romwold, who later became a bishop, every day in the refectory served with his own hands fifty poor men. As he always carried with him a purse to hold his alms, they gave him the name of "the poor man's purse-bearer."[2] At St. Hubert, in the Ardennes, Abbot Theodoric, friend and contemporary of Gregory VII., each day waited on twelve poor men at table; and after having washed their feet and their hands, prostrated himself before them as before our Lord Jesus Christ.[3]

At St. Evroul, under Abbot Osberne (1063), on June 25, the day fixed for the anniversary, or "Commemoration," of the monastery, the almoner assembled as many poor men as there were monks in the abbey; the cellarer gave them food and drink in the guest-house, after which the chapter and the whole community washed their feet, as was done on Holy Thursday at the ceremony of the *Mandatum*.[4] This ceremony of the *Mandatum*,[5] used in all the abbeys of

[1] He died in 1096. "Ei moris erat ut ante prandium ingressus refectorium, primum pulmentum per omnes mensas circumferret et apponeret. Insuper singulis diebus duorum pauperum cibum de coquina acceptum ad suam ipsius mensam afferebat, ut facta cum suo cibo comparatione, distinctiorem sibi cibum indiceret."—MABILLON, *Annal.*, vol. v. l. lxix. No. 46.

[2] "Saccellarius eorum appellari et esse non erubuit."—*Vit. S. Romuoldi*, c. 2, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars i. p. 13. This title of *Saccellarius* answers to that of *Säckelmeister*, still borne by the treasurer of certain administrations in Switzerland, which means literally, *Master of the little sack*.

[3] "Præter communem monasterii eleemosynam duodecim pauperes quotidie alebat, quibus lotis pedibus et manibus, et refectura sufficienti impensa, satis humiliter tanquam Christo se eis in terram prostabat."—*Hist. Andagin.*, No. 14, in *Ampl. Collect.*, vol. iv.

[4] This custom had lasted a century in the time of Ordericus, and was carried to *Noyon-sur-Andelle* and to *St. George de Boscherville*. The same Abbot Osberne ordered that seven lepers should be maintained in perpetuity by the community, and that they should receive each day the provisions of seven monks.—ORD. VIT., b. iii. p. 101, ed. Leprév.

[5] So called because during the washing of the feet they chanted the anthem *Mandatum novum do vobis*.

France and Normandy, spread rapidly after the Conquest to those of England. Archbishop Lanfranc, monk of Bec, carefully arranged the form to be used, in his decretals for the English Benedictines: according to his directions each monk and student was to wash one poor man; while the abbot had the privilege of washing two. When the monks were ranged in line, each had his poor man before him,[1] and knelt to adore Christ in the person of His suffering member;[2] then, the ablution over, he kissed on the mouth and eyes this chosen friend of the Divine Master. The brothers who had died during the year were not deprived of their privileges, but other monks were appointed to take their places, and perform the ceremony of ablution in their name.[3] When Ingulphus, the learned historian, an Englishman by birth, was called by the Conqueror to govern Croyland, then the most important abbey in England, he introduced the same custom there, but ordered it to be practised daily. Every day after High Mass the monks washed the feet of three poor men; then, the consecration being finished, the almoner opened the great door of the monastery and brought in three poor travellers or strangers —or, if they failed, three old men of the vicinity—who received the homage of the *Mandatum* and the succour which accompanied it.[4]

We should deceive ourselves if we supposed that these alms were given out of the mere superfluity of the monks; on the contrary, they borrowed them from their necessaries. How many times, in monastic annals, do we see the poor receiving the last loaf which remained in the monastery! The nobles of the neighbourhood came almost immediately, it is true, to replace by some offering that of the good monks. But this exchange of brotherly sentiments was

[1] "Ante pauperes suos."

[2] "Ut adorent Christum in pauperibus."

[3] *Decret. pro ord. S. Bened.*, in *Oper.*, LANFRANCI, p. 263, ed. D'Achery.

[4] INGULPH. CROYLAND, *Hist.*, p. 102; Gale's edition.

not made in vain; the fire of charity passed from man to man, like that torch in which the ancients beheld the symbol of life!

St. Robert, founder of Chaise-Dieu, had as yet but three monks with him, when one day, having remained alone to pray while his companions worked, he was interrupted by a poor man who asked alms. Robert ran immediately to his cell, and gave all he found there, which was the half of a loaf left from the supper of the previous night. When the three solitaries on their return from the fields perceived that there was nothing to eat, one of them named Dalmatius, who had been a knight, complained loudly; but the saint appeased him with a word, and at the same instant there arrived three beasts of burden loaded with provisions sent by a neighbouring abbot.[1] The life of St. Simon of Crépy, of St. Jossius, and of many others, offer similar instances. They trusted at once in the mercy of God and in the generosity of their brethren; and this confidence was rarely deceived. Their sentiments agreed with those of St. Adelard, Abbot of Corbie, who, when he was remonstrated with for wasting the provisions of the abbey in gifts, replied, smiling, in the words of the Psalmist,[2] "*Inquirentes Dominum non minuentur omni bono.*"[3] With still greater reason, monastic generosity was boundless where, thanks to good administration and skilled economy, there was an abundant superfluity. Anxious to encourage the liberal nobles who, in the time of Gregory VII., were eager to endow and to people the regenerated monasteries of the Black Forest, a contemporary annalist relates that these illustrious penitents regarded as lost all the

[1] "Quadam die profectis ad laborem fratribus, audit vocem petentis eleemosynam: surgit festinus, ingreditur cellulam, dat totum quod reperit. Totum illud erat pars panis quæ superfuerat hesternæ cœnæ, suffectura tamen iterum tribus ad mensam. . . . Reversis ab opere, cibus defuit, quod cum moleste tulisset Dalmatius, cito vir sanctus querelam compescuit."—MARBOD., *Vit. S. Robert.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 193.

[2] *Lib.* I. *Miracul. Adalardi*, No. 4, ap. CIROT, *Hist. de la Sauve-Majeure*, i. p. 402.

[3] Psalm xxxiii. 11.

money which was not spent for the poor and sick.[1] At Hirschau, the chief of these abbeys, there were two hundred poor fed daily at the doors; on Shrove Tuesday and Holy Thursday nine hundred poor men each received a pound of bacon and two pounds of bread.[2] At Cluny *seventeen thousand* poor were annually fed and assisted.[3] While we are speaking of Cluny, let us add that the valuable collection called the *Bibliothèque de Cluny* contains a true code of charity, and also a register of the obligatory and permanent alms which were given in the different houses of the Order, even at the end of the fourteenth century, a time at once of poverty and spiritual decadence.[4] In it are arranged, by provinces and kingdoms, the abbeys and priories, the deaneries and simple residences, of this immense community; under the name of each house is the number of monks who ought to inhabit it, and the offices and obligatory alms; at each page are entries such as this: *Alms* (that is, distribution of gifts) *every day; alms three times a-week; alms to all passers-by; general alms on Sunday; alms to all who shall ask.*[5]

[1] "In exhibenda hospitalitate insudant tam mirabiliter, ac si perdidisse æstimarent, quidquid pauperibus Christi et hospitibus non erogaverint."—BERNOLD., ann. 1083.

[2] CLESS, *Cultur-Geschichte von Wurtemberg*, ii. 443, ap. HUETER, iii. 593.

[3] S. UDALRIC., *Consuet. Cluniac.*

[4] "Catalogus abbatiarum, prioratuum et decanatuum, mediate et immediate abbatiæ Cluniacensi subditorum, per provincias, et numerus monachorum . . . et quot missæ consueverunt celebrari, ante magnam mortalitatem . . . et quibus diebus fieri debet eleemosyna."—*Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, &c., colleg.* D. MART., MARRIER et ANDREAS QUERCETANUS, Lutet. Paris, 1614, in-fol., pp. 1705–52.

[5] Let us take at hazard the page 1707–1708, and copy it. At the priory of Luzy: "Debent celebrare quotidie unam missam et debet fieri omni die eleemosyna." At the priory of *Chaudiaco*, in the Lyonnais: "Debet ibi fieri eleemosyna generalis omni die dominica, et quotidie omnibus transeuntibus et advenientibus." At the priory of Bourbon-Lancy: "Debet ibidem fieri eleemosyna generalis ter in hebdomada," &c., &c. Elsewhere we find for the priory of Vaulx, near Poligny: "Antequam detur (eleemosyna) pulsatur sicut in Cluniaco." At the priory of Carrion, in Spain: "Eleemosyna fit omni die transeuntibus peregrinis petentibus." At the priory of St. John at Vercemale, in Lombardy: "Fit ibi eleemosyna omnibus petentibus."

At Cluny, the great St. Hugh regulated the service of charity, even in the smallest details.[1] According to his command, travellers on horseback were received by the keeper of the guest-house (*hospitium*), travellers on foot by the almoner: the *granaturius* provided each with a pound of bread at the time of arrival, and half a pound the next morning; they received also fish, vegetables, meat when the season permitted, and also wine and a piece of money.[2] If they came from a distance, they were brought into the refectory with their luggage.[3] Every day twelve great pies were baked for little children and old people, for the blind and the lame.[4] Eighteen poor men lodged in the abbey had *prebends*—that is, portions at the different meals exactly similar to those of the monks. Besides this, there were three *prebends* in honour of the memories of the holy Abbot Odilon, of the Emperor St. Henry, and of Froylan King of Spain;[5] they were all three served in the refectory, at the abbot's table, and then given to the almoner to be distributed to the poor. The latter had so much, and such fatiguing work, that he required five servants to help him. Once a week he had to visit all the sick poor of the neighbourhood, to whom he took bread, wine, and baskets full of meat:[6] he entered the houses of the men who were sick, but where there were women, he remained at the door, and sent his servant in with the food. If the wife or companion of

[1] *Antiq. consuetud. a Bernard. Monach. digest.*, c. 14, ap. D'ACHER., *Not. ad* V. GUIB., *Oper.*, p. 582. Cf. UDALR., *Consuet. Clun.*, iii. 24.

[2] "Custos hospitii. . . . Eleemosynarius. . . . Granaturius."—*Antiq. consuetud.*

[3] "Cum autem pedites seu pauperes clerici peregrini de longinqua terra veniunt ad eleemosynarium . . . accepta licentia, ducet illos in refectorium cum peris suis."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Dantur quotidie XII. tortæ" (of three pounds each) "pupillis et viduis, claudis et cæcis, senibus et aniculis."—*Ibid.*

[5] This prince is always called Fredelannus by Cluniac writers; it is he who is usually called Fernand I., King of Castile and Leon, father of Alphonso VI., the great benefactor of Cluny.

[6] "Assumptis secum famulis suis et pane et carne in cophinis et vino, visitans illos qui pauperes alicubi jacent ægroti."—*Antiq. consuetud.*

some poor traveller,[1] either from illness or over-fatigue, could not reach the monastery, the same portion as was given to the others, was to be sent to them by the hands of one of the other persons relieved.

A contemporary of St. Hugh of Cluny, Abbot William of Hirschau, the great light of monastic Germany in the eleventh century, occupied himself with anxious care in comforting the needy, visiting them in their cottages, and himself performing their humble funerals. He laboured, above all, for the cure of the insane poor, using spiritual means for this end,[2] even in the midst of the prolonged contest which he was forced to maintain against the Imperialists for the independence of the Church and the rights of St. Gregory VII. The intimate friend of this Abbot William, the monk who served as intermediary between Cluny and Hirschau, and who was an illustrious champion of ecclesiastical liberty, as well as a great monastic doctor, St. Udalric, editor of the *Customs of Cluny*, stripped himself, while on a journey, of his under-garments to clothe the poor whom he met, and he was seen during the winter taking off his furred shoes to give them to a beggar who asked for them.[3]

[1] "Si autem aliquis peregrinorum habuerit ad hospitium suum" (that is to say, outside of the abbey) "conjugem debilem, vel lassatam, seu socium quibus non sit commodum venire ad eleemosynam, debet eis misericordiam facere, et quantum dat aliis mittere per eorum socium, qui revertetur ad eos, propter eorum debilitatem."—*Antiq. consuet.*, p. 585.

[2] "Rusticos in villulis infirmos jacentes humiliter visitavit, ac piis consolationibus fovit, postremo obeuntes diligenti cura sepulturæ tradidit. Eorum vero qui insaniam mentis patiebantur, nullum suscipere dedignatus est; aut enim cum toto fratrum conventu psalmos et benedictiones recitavit super eos, aut cum quibusdam fratribus, quæ tali negotio congruebant explevit."—HEYMO, *Vit. B. Wilh.*, *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 733.

[3] "Se plerumque non erubuit denudare. . . . Aliquoties in itinere . . . a via secretius divertens, lumbare indumentum, quo interioris corporis tegebantur, latenter eductum, nudo tradidit. . . . Soccos pelosos contra frigoris algorem valde commodos . . . nec mora, exutos soccos petenti libens tribuit. . . . Parva hæc et relatu digna viderentur, si muneris quantitas, potius quam caritas affectus dantis pensaretur."—*Vit. S. Udalr.*, cc. 37, 38, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 799.

As for St. William, in the overflowings of his pitiful soul he did not even forget the young birds. He said, in winter, to the disciple who wrote his life, "See how these poor birds suffer from hunger and cold! take some bundles of hay and scatter them round the thickets, so that they may find something to eat."[1] The same story is told of St. Ansfred, the brave knight who became a monk in his old age, and of whose wonderful love for his brethren we have already spoken.[2] The Abbot William of Fécamp was in the habit of wandering about the cross-roads and entering cottages, in search of the starving or lepers, whose misery he wished to relieve.[3]

It is to the monks that Europe owes the first hospitals and the first lazar-houses that are known. St. Pammacus, an abbot at Rome in the time of St. Jerome, St. Basil, St. John Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, inaugurated by their foundations this marvellous invention of Christianity. In his enthusiasm for the immense hospital created by St. Basil at Cesarea, St. Gregory of Nazianzen gave that town the glorious title of the city of charity, and placed it above the seven wonders of the ancient world. And it was not to the poor of their own neighbourhood that the charity of the monks was limited: they never asked the country of any unfortunate; foreigners and travellers were, on the contrary, special objects of their care. The rule of St. Benedict is particular on this point,[4] and never was precept more exactly

[1] "Volatilia fame et frigore pereunt. Sume manipulos avenæ et defige circa sepes, ut inveniant quo pascantur."—HEYMO, *ubi supra.*

[2] "Aviculis etiam in hieme manipulos super arbores ad manducandum intuitu pietatis poni fecit."—ANON. MON. S. PAULI, *Vit. S. Ansfr.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars i. p. 91, c. 10 in fine. See the History of St. Ansfred already related.

[3] "Circuibat angulos et compita; leprosorum tuguriola subintrabat, ut omnium necessitatibus adesset."—BALDR. ARCHIEP., *Epist. in Neustria pia*, p. 227.

[4] ". . . Omnes supervenientes hospites, tamquam Christus, suscipiantur, quia ipse dixit: Hospes fui et suscepistis me . . . pauperum et peregrinorum maxime susceptis omni cura sollicite exhibeatur: quia in ipsis magis Christus suscipitur, nam divitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem."—*Regul.*, c. 53.

obeyed. The most generous hospitality offered to all who came, was one of the practices dearest to monastic charity, the common and constant law of all regular communities. The monk who under the name of provost of the guests (*præpositus hospitum*), was charged to receive strangers, was to show them tender and respectful attentions; he even knelt before them to wash their hands and feet. Thus did St. Cuthbert at the Abbey of Ripon.[1] The lodgings of the travellers and guests (*domus hospitum, domus peregrinorum et pauperum*) constituted an essential part of the buildings of every monastery. We may see, from the plan of St. Gall in the ninth century, the importance and extent of the edifices applied to this object.[2] The history of the monk Richer shows us the pleasure experienced by a traveller of the tenth century, called from his home by duty or the pursuit of knowledge, when he came to ask shelter from the brotherly kindness of the monks.[3] At St. Gall, by a refinement of delicate attention, the most learned or the most famous monk was the one appointed to the office of host or guide to strangers.[4] Notker the Stammerer, and Tutilo, both celebrated men, each fulfilled this duty. Thus contemporaries are never tired of praising the reception which strangers received in monastic lodging-houses. "Each one," they say, "is there received by Charity, the mother of all virtues; by Harmony, the daughter of Charity; and by Simplicity, who is the handmaid of both. All three have chosen their dwelling there, all live there in common, and

[1] "Pedes ipse abluit (Cuthbertus) linteo extersit, fovendos humiliter manibus suo in sinu composuit."—BED., *Vit. S. Cuthbert.*

[2] They contained a brewery, a bakery, two dormitories, &c., all kept for the use of poor travellers.—KELLER, *Bauriss des Kl. S. Gallen*, pp. 26, 27.

[3] "Nox inhorruerat . . . cum basilicam S. Pharonis introii fratribus adhuc parantibus potum charitatis . . . a quibus ut frater exceptus, dulcibus alloquiis, civisque sufficientibus recreatus sum."—RICHERI, b. vi. c. 50, ed. Pertz, p. 643.

[4] A similar disposition is found in the orders of the monastic council of 827: "Ut docti fratres eligantur qui cum supervenientibus monachis loquantur."—C. 63, ap. BALUZII, *Capitular.*

all hasten to meet the traveller when he reaches their door."[1]

It was thus known everywhere, that monasteries were gratuitous inns, always accessible, not only to monks upon missions, but to foreign travellers, to the shipwrecked, to pilgrims, and to the poor. However great might be the number of the visitors, each of them, without question of rank or nationality, might count upon a kind reception in a tranquil and safe resting-place. "Let them ask," says a historian, speaking of the customs of the Norman Abbey of Bec—"let them ask Spaniards or Burgundians, or any foreigners whatever, how they have been received at Bec. They will answer that the door of the monastery is always open to all, and that its bread is free to the whole world."[2] The good monks were to be met with on the most frequented roads as well as in the depths of the countries most rarely visited. From the shores of the Baltic to the Apennines were two or three great lines of monasteries which marked out, as it were, a road for pilgrims, for wandering artisans and workmen, and offered them refuge and help throughout their journeys. The duties of hospitality were regarded by

[1] "Jussisti me de Auvavensi monasterio ad monasterium S. Galli commorandi et discendi gratia proficisci . . . quod et feci. . . . Navem conscendi, atque illuc cum omni prosperitate, Deo gubernante, perveni, tantasque virtutes in iisdem fratribus conspexi, ut vix illas, ne dicas me, sed neque Pythagoram de Samo egressum putem eloqui posse. . . . Sola caritas ibi principatur, et justitia regnat. Et sic caritas mater est virtutum, et concordia filia ejus, ac simplicitas earum pedisse qua illic sine dubio domicilium proprium habet, quæ et si pro tempore in aliis locis commorata fuerit, et particulatim se ibi ostenderit; hic tamen semper cum filia et ministra tota consistit. Nec est adventantium hospitum ullus, cui ab his tribus non occurratur. Sunt enim jugiter simul indissolubiles, ut funiculus triplex, et inter omnes sparsæ, integræ, tamen unum omnibus ministerium habent. . . ."—ERMENRICI, *Epist. ad Grimoald.* (ann. 840), ap. MABILLON, *Veter. Annales*, p. 421, et ZIEGELBAUER, vol. i. p. 206.

[2] "Interrogati Burgundiones et Hispani, aliique de longe seu de prope advenientes, respondeant, et quanta benignitate ab eis suscepti fuerint sine fraude proferant. . . . Janua Beccensium patet omni viatori, eorumque panis nulli denegatur."—ORD. VITAL., vol. iv. p. 246, ed. Leprévost.

the monks as most sacred and obligatory. When Gebhard, Archbishop of Salzburg, chief lieutenant of St. Gregory VII. in Germany, had founded in 1074 the Abbey of Admont on a wild and almost inaccessible gorge in Styria, he chose his burial-place there, and on his tomb they engraved an epitaph, in which the poet, addressing the abbey, says, "Flower of Admont, . . . Gebhard called thee into existence that thou mightst be the consolation of all. He has richly endowed thee that thou mightst have wherewith to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to give shelter to the traveller, and an asylum to those who have wandered from their way."[1]

To their last day, even when the most deplorable laxity had been introduced among them, monks still practised these charitable virtues.

In the midst of the Ardennes, even at the close of the eighteenth century, the hospitality of the monks of St. Hubert was the only resource of travellers between Brabant and Luxembourg.[2] On the top of the highest mountains such as the St. Bernard and St. Gothard, the most provident and disinterested watched over all who stood in need. By the side of the two hospices founded on Mont St. Bernard by Bernard de Menthon, the immortal archdeacon of Aosta, stood a monastery. At St. Michele of Chiusa, situated at the opening of one of the most frequented passes of the Alps, Abbot Benedict, the same who had suffered persecution for the cause of Gregory VII., received all travellers; gave clothing, money, and horses to those who wanted them, or who had been robbed on the road; himself saw to their

[1] "Fecit et hoc, in te sint ut solatio cuique.
Plurima nam tribuit, de quibus hoc statuit:
Esuriens victum petat in te, nudus amictum,
Et vagus hospitium, perditus auxilium."

—*Vit. S. Gebhard.*, a MONACH. ADMONT., ed. 1619, p. 139.

[2] VERHOEVEN, *Mémoire sur les constitutions de la nation Belge:* Liège, 1790, p. 63. See also what Albert le Mire says of the hospitality of the Abbey of Postel during the seventeenth century.—*Ibid.* p. 77.

food, waited upon them with his own hands, bathed the sick, kept them sometimes months or even years under his roof.[1] And each traveller in succession, on leaving these asylums, carried with him proofs of the munificence of his hosts; for, as said the monks of Fécamp, "it is a custom transmitted to us by our ancestors, never to let any one depart without some present."[2]

At Aubrac, where a monastic hospital was founded at the end of the sixteenth century, in the midst of the wildest mountains of the Rouergue, the monks every evening for two hours rang a bell, meant as a call to travellers wandering in the mists, or overtaken by darkness in the forest: this bell had inscribed upon it the words, *Errantes revoca;* and the people called it "The bell of the wanderers."[3]

The monks and their bell are found also on the sea-shore, on the most dangerous coasts, warning sailors of every perilous passage, and preparing refuge for the shipwrecked. Their charity was earlier than that of our lighthouses. The abbots of Arbroath, in Scotland, conceived the happy idea of placing a great bell on the most dangerous rock on the Forfarshire coast, which still bears the name of the *Bell Rock*.[4] The motion of the waves stirred the bell, and its

[1] "Quorum frequenter multitudo, quoniam locus in Romano itinere est positus, fessa et lassabunda ad eum confluebat. . . . Reparata habitacula et tapetibus sufficienter strata singulis apte distribuebat. . . . Ipse vero succinctus hospes, huc illucve cursitando, tempore prandii omnium manibus infundere festinat . . . cum eos secum haberet per aliquot menses, seu annuum tempus, quin (ut verum fatear) biennium vel triennium, non mutabatur nec minuebatur erga eos prior benevolentia," &c.—*Act. SS. O. B.*, sæc. vi. pars ii. p. 705.

[2] "Hujus monasterii consuetudo est a majoribus ad nos usque transmissa, ut nemo indonatus hinc recedat."—BALDRIC., *Epist.*, l. c.

[3] This custom lasted till the confiscation of the hospital, 1791. The "*Cloche des Perdus*," newly founded by the latest monks in 1772, has just been restored to the new church of Aubrac, now made a chapel-of-ease. See *L'Ancien Hôpital d'Aubrac*, by *l'abbé* BOUSQUET, *curé of Buseins*, Rodez, 1845, a work full of valuable details for the history of the last centuries.

[4] The rock is 430 feet by 230; it is 12 feet under water at the highest

sound warned the passing ships. The Benedictines of Tavistock Abbey established themselves, in 961, on the Scilly Islands, situated at the extremity of Cornwall, and sadly celebrated for the number of shipwrecks on their coast.[1] The city of Copenhagen owes its origin to a monastery founded by Archbishop Absolon, on the Baltic coast, for the reception of the shipwrecked.

The gratitude of the faithful could not fail to follow this tender and unwearied solicitude for the suffering members of Christ: it showed itself sometimes in traditions, sometimes by a popular consecration of names and memories which all the genius of the learned would be unable to establish or to replace. Jean de Montmajour, Abbot of St. Alleyre, having, during a scarcity, given all the wheat of his house to the poor, the people of Auvergne used to relate that from that time the monastic barns always remained full; and that after the death of the abbot, when his armorial bearings had been engraved on his tomb, a heavenly and shining hand effaced them, and substituted three loaves of bread as the true blazon of this friend of the poor.[2] One of the principal priories of the Order of Cluny had for its arms, truly *parlantes*, three open purses. In this monastery, situated on the banks of the Loire, between Orleans and Nevers, the Prior Gerard was accustomed not only to invite strangers passing along the great highway to accept the hospitality of his house, but even to force them to do so;[3] thus the poor were in the habit of saying, "Let us go to the charity of the monks!" and from this popular and touching homage arose the new name of *La Charité-*

tide. The bell was stolen by a Dutch captain. Between 1807 and 1811 a lighthouse was built.

[1] Under Henry I., Richard de Wick gave them the tenth of the produce of these isles, and especially of the rabbits, for the good of his own soul and those of his relations.—TROUTBECK, *Survey of the Ancient and Present State of the Scilly Isles:* Sherborne, 1795.

[2] AUDIGIER, *MS. History of Auvergne*, ap. BRANCHE, p. 468. *Consuet. Cluniac., proœm.* in *Spicileg.*, i. 641.

sur-Loire, the only memorial still preserved by ungrateful posterity.[1]

Such, then, were the men whose enormous and fruitful labours claimed homage from the bitterest malevolence, but who were unable to disarm the power of an implacable and stupid Vandalism. In the very midst of the degeneration which lay influences had introduced into the religious orders, the monks were, to their last day, the benefactors of the poor and the useful servants of society.[2] It is a thing for ever remarkable that these services, rendered to all, were so much the more eminent and the more numerous in proportion as the monks remained more faithful to the primitive rigour of an institution which withheld them from all human passions and interests, which forbade them all the enjoyments and all the splendours of social life. In one word, the more they were able to renounce the world, the better they served it. For, we repeat, all for which we have praised them was entirely apart from the object which they proposed to themselves; their works, however meritorious, were merely the consequences, logical indeed, but very indirect and very subordinate, of the inspiration which gave them birth. They did not aspire to the admiration or gratitude of posterity. They had no intention of proposing remedies for pauperism, or facilitating communication between the different countries of the West. They had in view neither public utility, nor the development of science, nor the charms of art, nor the progress of agriculture, nor

[1] "Pauperes se invicem invitantes: *Eamus*, dicebant, *ad sanctorum karitatem*. Unde factum est ut, ex illa et frequenti et diurna invitatione, nomen hujusmodi aptarent loco."—RICHARD. CLUNIAC., *Chron.*, in *Gallia Christ.*, xii. 403. This priory was founded in 1056 by Hugh, Bishop of Cluny, at the expense of Challent, the donor, on the site of a ruined Abbey of St. Cyr, whose name it bore at first. It contained a hundred monks, and had fifty-two cells immediately dependent upon it.—*Bibli. de l'École des Chartes*, vol. iii. p. 561.

[2] It would be well to consult on this subject the work above quoted on the Hospital of Aubrac, and also all books and traditions relative to the later times of the monasteries.

any glory of this world.[1] They would have been, we may be sure, painfully surprised if they could have suspected that one day Europe would be able to admire and understand them only by means of one or other of the indirect and inferior results of their institution. Nevertheless they made no mystery of their true object. Nothing was easier to penetrate than the secret of their greatness and duration. They had, as they always declared, the abnegation of self for their ruling principle, obedience for their method, and salvation for their sole aim. The sanctification of the soul by prayer, labour, and solitude—this was their ambition and the very first cause of their existence. To obey always—to obey, above all, the chief who represented God,—this was the secret of their power, their duration, and their success—the essence of that rule to which they sacrificed everything, even the most legitimate inclinations. "We have all," wrote the monk William of St. Remy to his old tutor, "an incredible fondness for reading; but there is not one of us who would dare prefer the pleasure of reading to the duty of obeying."[2]

In study, as in all kinds of work, even in almsgiving, they aspired only to the salvation of their own souls and those of their brethren. All that is great, useful, beautiful, or touching in their lives, springs from this one thought. It was for the soul of Alfonso VI., King of Castile, their benefactor, that the monks of Cluny bethought themselves of washing the feet of thirty poor men in memory of him every Good Friday; of giving food to a hundred others on Easter Day; and, finally, of serving every day, at the first table of the refectory, the dinner of the dead king, which was afterwards given to a poor man:[3] thus, with admirable

[1] Their principal merit was not, as has been said with too much humility, that they preserved manuscripts, or literature, or agriculture, but virtue—stern, Christian virtue.—COMTE CESARE BALBO, *delle Speranze d'Italia*, c. 7.

[2] "Virtus autem obedientiæ sic præpollet, ut cum nobis incredibile sit studium legendi, nullus tamen obedientiæ proferre audeat lectionem."—MABIL., *Ann.*, vol. v. b. lxii., No. 89. William was made abbot in 1071.

[3] LORAIN, *Essai sur Cluny*, p. 91.

delicacy, mingling the gratitude due to the beloved dead with charity to the living. When the monk Guido Aretino, the inventor of the solfeggio, had enriched musical science with a method which immortalises him, he did not think of glory, or of the progress of art, or of material profit, but only of the good of his soul, and wrote modestly, "Since we can now, instead of in ten years which were formerly necessary to learn singing imperfectly, make a chorister in one year or two, we hope that all those who come after us, and who may profit by this progress, will pray God for the remission of our sins, and that their charity may obtain it of the divine mercy."[1]

The Emperor Otho III. having gone to visit the Abbot St. Nilus at Mount Garganus, said to him, "Ask of me what you will, as if you were my son, and I will give it gladly." The monk, laying his hand upon the emperor's heart, replied, "I ask but one single thing of your majesty, and that is the salvation of your soul."[2]

Thus, then, in the greatest things as in the smallest, for themselves and for others, the interests of the soul were the only care of the monks. For the founder of abbeys, who cut down forests or pierced rocks in order to build a *house of God*;[3] for the knight who stripped himself of his patrimony, or consecrated himself to the life of the cloister; for the copyist who covered parchments with his laborious transcriptions, and for the artist who adorned them with his

[1] "Unde ergo, inspirante Domino, caritatem non solum tibi, sed et aliis quibuscumque potui summa cum devotione ac sollicitudine a Deo mihi indignissimo datam contuli gratiam, ut quia ego et omnes ante me summa cum difficultate ecclesiasticos cantus didicimus, ipsos posteri summa cum facilitate discentes, mihi et tibi et reliquis adjutoribus meis æternam optent salutem, facietque per misericordiam Dei peccatorum nostrorum remissionem vel modica tantorum ex caritate oratio. Nam si illi . . . qui hactenus vix decennio, . . . &c."—BARON., *Ann.*, ad ann. 1022. MABILL., ad ann. 1026.

[2] Ἔκτεινας τὴν χεῖρα πρὸς τῷ στήθει τοῦ βασιλέως εἶπεν· Οὐδὲν ἄλλο θέλομαι τῆς σῆς βασιλείας, ἀλλ' ἢ τὴν σωτηρίαν τῆς ψυχῆς σου.—*Act. S. Nili*, ed. CARIOPHYLUS, ap. PERTZ, *Script.*, vol. iv. p. 616.

[3] *Gotteshaus*, an expressive term commonly used in Germany for a monastery.

miniatures; for the convert who tilled the ground or kept the flocks; for the monks who sang the praises of God in the choir of the church, who shared the labour of the peasant in the fields, who devoted themselves passionately to study in the solitude of their monasteries,—for all these chosen souls eternal salvation was the one pole of intelligence and of will, the ocean into which flowed all the currents of their thought. But in consecrating themselves entirely to God, they merited, according to the divine promise, that all other things should be added unto them; and with their eyes always turned to that one only light, strength was given to them to last longer than the most powerful monarchies, to save all the treasures of literature and science, to write the history of ages illuminated by their virtue, to regenerate and sanctify art, to fill libraries with their books, to raise innumerable and gigantic monuments, to clear the soil of half Europe, to display all kinds of courage against all kinds of enemies, to suppress want by the power of charity; and, after having thus lived, to die in transports of love and joy, having peace in their hearts and a smile upon their lips.

For it was thus that they died. We know it, thanks to the same chroniclers who registered the acts of their life and preserved the memory of their last hours. Beside the happy death, the death of the saints (*mors felix*), there was the joyous death (*mors hilaris*), that of the simple monk, glad to die as he had been glad to live.[1] Monastic annals are full of details of the end of these servants of God; they tell us, for example, how the monk Gérold of St. Gall gave up his soul, glorifying God, smiling at his brethren, and saluting the saints whom he saw gather round him.[2] They tell

[1] See, in the table of contents of the *Menologium Benedictinum* of Bucelinus, the article entitled *Mors hilaris*, distinct from that on *Mors felix*.

[2] "Sursum spectando Domino dat psycheo amando . . .
Fratres arrisit Gerolt animamque remisit,
Cum visis læte sanctis dixisset, Avete;
Prosper doctrinis, asper disciplinis. . . ."

—EKKEHARD, *Lib. Benedict.*, *MS. S. Gall.*, p. 154, ap. ARX, i. 271.

us also how, at Monte Cassino, the monk Randiscius, on his deathbed, stopped the chanting of the monks by saying, "Hush, hush! do you not hear the Laudes sounding in heaven? Do you not see the angels who are singing, with their garments and their faces shining like snow? I conjure you, in God's name, be silent, and let me enjoy the sweetness of their song." And as he said these words, he died. [1]

Philosophers, so sure of your knowledge—politicians, so skilful in directing nations—toilers, so well versed in the art of creating wealth—legislators, who have led religion and liberty captive—princes, who have built up absolute power on the ruins of ancient freedom—social reformers, who have levelled all things under the yoke of democratic uniformity,—all of you, authors and guides of modern society, this is not your work; all this was done before you and without you; your achievement has been to enslave, to corrupt, and finally to destroy, these august institutions; and after having spoiled and profaned the sanctuaries where for twelve centuries reigned charity, prayer, and happiness, to introduce into them egotism and covetousness, or to give them up to devastation and destruction.

[1] "Cœperunt fratres, sicut mos est, ejus animam omnipotenti Deo commendare. . . . Tacete, tacete! Numquid non auditis, quantæ resonant Laudes in cœlo? Numquid pueros, qui Laudes decantant, videtis? . . . Per Deum obnixe vos postulo, ut sileatis, mihique tam suavissimum cantum audire sinatis. Hæc dum diceret, extremum alitum fudit."—*Chron. Casin.*, l. iii. c. 51, ap. MURATOR., iv. 468.

BOOK XIX

ST. GREGORY, MONK AND POPE

"Surrexit Elias propheta, quasi ignis, et verbum ipsius quasi facula ardebat.

". . . quis potest similiter sic gloriari tibi?

". . . qui dejecisti reges ad perniciem, et confregisti facile potentiam ipsorum, et gloriosos de lecto suo.

". . . qui ungis reges ad pœnitentiam, et prophetas facis successores post te."—ECCLESIASTICUS, xlviii. 1–8.

"Et dixit Dominus ad me: Ecce dedi verba mea in ore tuo: ecce constitui te hodie super gentes, et super regna, ut evellas, et destruas, et disperdas, et dissipes, et ædifices, et plantes."—JEREMIAH. i. 9, 10.

"Della fede christiana il santo atleta,
Benigno a' suoi et a' nemici crudo . . .
. . . Con dottrina et con volere insieme,
Con l'ufficio apostolico si mosse,
Quasi torrente ch' alta vena preme;
E negli sterpi eretici percosse
L'impeto suo più vivamente quivi
Dove le resistenze eran più grosse . . .
. . . Tal fu l'una ruota della biga,
In che la sancta Chiesa si difese
E vinse in campo la sua civil briga."

—DANTE, *Paradiso*, c. xii.

CHAPTER I

STATE OF THE CHURCH IN THE MIDDLE OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

Abuses and scandals in the Church.—Lay tyranny.—Healing intervention of the monks.—The spiritual supremacy of the Holy See remains unhurt.—The Council of Sutri.—Deposition of three rival popes.—Triple scourge: simony, incontinence of priests, and encroachment by the temporal power.—The monk Arialdus, martyr to ecclesiastical celibacy.—Philip of France protects the simoniacal priests.—The evil more widely spread in Germany than in France.—Accession of the Emperor Henry IV.—Shameless sale of bishoprics, abbeys, &c.—The whole Church corrupted.—Monk-bishops not more than an exception.—Ridicule cast by simoniacal clergy on the monks.—The latter called upon to save the Church.

WHILE the Monastic Orders shone with so pure a splendour, the Church, arrived at the eleventh century of her existence, was going through the greatest trial she had yet known.

The Holy See, the episcopate, and the entire secular clergy, bent under the load of inveterate abuses and odious scandals. Skilful in taking advantage of such internal corruption, assured of the support of many accomplices in a debased episcopate and a depraved clergy, lay tyranny was able to stretch its victorious hand over the bride of Christ, and try to chain her for ever to the foot of the throne of human sovereignty. But God reserved for Himself a liberating and avenging army. The Order of St. Benedict, stronger and more fruitful than ever in the eleventh century, might indeed be hurt by the general corruption, but yielded to it never. It was destined still to bring forth innumerable champions of the divine justice

and mercy. The salvation of the Church and of freedom were yet to spring from its bosom under a series of holy pontiffs, almost all belonging to the Benedictine family, and amongst whom, pre-eminent in glory and in genius, was to be Hildebrand, the greatest of monks and the greatest of popes.

It is necessary to describe the evil, so that we may rightly appreciate the remedy. Let us measure then, as far as possible, the abyss into which the Church was sinking when Hildebrand was sent by God to save her, and let us commence with the papacy. Here the mischief was of an early date. The Holy See seemed only to have cleared itself from the stains inflicted on it by certain unworthy pontiffs of the tenth century, in order to yield itself to the domination of the temporal power—a mere exchange of one disgrace and danger for another.

Otho the Great, when he came to the rescue of the papacy, then constantly endangered by the passions of the Italians, found himself drawn on, by the very faults of the popes, to assume towards them something of a protecting and superior attitude, completely different from that of Charlemagne and his successors.[1] This attitude was the more unreasonable, since, like all the French, German, and Italian princes who attained the imperial dignity after the death of the great emperor,[2] Otho owed his title to the papacy alone. He had presided at the deposition of two popes—John XII. and Benedict V.—one utterly worthless, the other pure and exemplary, but both legitimately elected, and canonically inviolable;[3] he had dictated the choice of Leo VIII., of

[1] This essential point is perfectly established by HÖFLER, *Hist. of the German Popes*, vol. i., Introd., pp. 46-52; by BOWDEN, *Hist. of Gregory VII.*, b. i. cc. 2, 3; as well as by JAGER, in his excellent *Introduction* to the translation of the *Hist. of Gregory VII.*, by VOIGT, where he successfully refutes the bad faith of Fleury.

[2] This is perfectly shown by the authorities collected in the work of M. GOSSELIN, *du Pouvoir du pape au moyen âge*, ch. 3, art. 3, pp. 615-628.

[3] "Romanorum præpotens imperator valentiorem sibi in Christo apos-

John XIII., and of Benedict VI., who must naturally have regarded themselves as his creatures, especially in presence of the continually-recurring revolts of the Romans. However, by a special providence, no enfeebling of the spiritual omnipotence of the popes showed itself during this period of moral abasement.[1] There are innumerable proofs of the recognition of their supremacy over metropolitans, bishops, and all orders in the Church;[2] and this supremacy was fully exercised by zealous and pure-minded popes, such as Gregory V. Some even among the less exemplary proved, by official acts, their care for the regularity of monasteries, and for other ecclesiastical institutions. What perished in them was not their infallible and immortal authority; it was, alas! their dignity, their liberty, and their personal virtue.

The papacy revived, however, and enjoyed some years of splendour under two monks—Gregory V. and Sylvester II.; but after this last pontiff it fell, as in the preceding century, under bondage to the passions and interests of this world.

tolicum nomine Benedictum, quem nullus absque Deo judicare poterit, injuste ut spero accusatum deponi consensit, quod utinam non fecisset."—DITHMAR DE MERSEBOURG, ap. LEIBNITZ, *Script.*, vol. ii. p. 327.

[1] Voltaire himself acknowledged it: "It is astonishing," he says, "that, under popes so scandalous and so weak the Roman Church lost neither its prerogatives nor its pretensions."—*Essai sur les mœurs*, vol. i., p. 35. To which Comte de Maistre replies, "It may well be called *astonishing*, for the phenomenon is humanly inexplicable."

[2] Many writers attribute this uncontested supremacy of the popes of the tenth century to the influence exercised by the code of *false decretals* which had appeared in the middle of the preceding century, and which gradually acquired the force of law throughout Christendom. But these decretals were silent as to the most essential prerogatives of the papacy; and besides, they were only *false* in the sense that they transformed biographical narratives into solemn decrees, and placed recent decisions under more ancient names. To wish, like M. Guizot, to date from them the origin of pontifical power, is to mistake all the conclusions of history for the first eight centuries of our era.—Cf. OZANAM, *de l'Établissement du christianisme en Allemagne*, in *le Correspondant*, vol. iv. p. 413; LAFERRIÈRE, *Revue de législation*, vol. viii. p. 612; and PIERRE VARIN, *Archives administratives de Reims*, vol. i. p. 109.

During all the first half of the eleventh century, mediocre and feeble monks (with the sole exception of Gregory VI.) succeeded each other, first at the pleasure of the Counts of Tusculum—powerful and dangerous enemies to Rome—and afterwards at that of the German emperors. A new dynasty had risen after St. Henry.[1]

Conrad II., the first sovereign of the house of Franconia,[2] though infected by the common vice of his age—simony[3]—did not leave the path marked out by his pious predecessors: like them, he showed great sympathy for the monks;[4] like them, he visited Monte Cassino with respect, defended the imperial abbey against annoyance from the princes of Capua,[5] and showed himself worthy to be mourned by the friends of order and of the Church. But under his son, Henry III.[6] —praiseworthy, indeed, for his fine qualities and sincere horror of simony[7]—the inconsistency of the position taken up by Otho the Great with regard to the Church began to reappear and increase. It then became evident that the Church no longer governed herself, but was at the mercy of the German sovereign. This Henry apparently intended to make clear when he disgraced Bishop Wazon of Liège, guilty only of having declared that, as bishop, he acknowledged the obligation of fidelity to the emperor, but of obedience only to the pope.[8] Nor was Henry content with disposing, as absolute master, of the abbeys and bishoprics,

[1] *Vide supra.*

[2] From 1024 to 1039.

[3] VOIGT, *Hildebrand und sein Zeitalte*, Th., p. 9.

[4] "Si paci et tranquillitati ecclesiarum Dei pia ac benigna sollicitudine prospicimus, hanc vicissitudinem nos a pio creatore nostro accepturos credamus, ut et regni nobis a Deo commissi gubernacula in hoc tempore cum pace et tranquillitate possidere valeamus, ac in regno æternæ beatitudinis requiem . . . inveniamus."—Diplòme pour l'abbaye de Corvey, in *Ampliss. Collect.*, vol. ii. p. 607.

[5] He gave them an abbot when the monks had voluntarily placed the right of election in his hands.

[6] He reigned from 1039 to 1056.

[7] STENTZEL, *Geschichte der fränkischen Kaiser*, vol. ii. p. 30.

[8] "Summo pontifici obedientiam, vobis autem debemus fidelitatem." ANSELM., *Gest. Leod. Episcop.*, c. 55, apud HŒFLER, vol. ii. p. 27.

of all Germany, of a great part of Italy, and of the two Burgundies, or kingdom of Arles. He went so far as to interfere with the appointment even of the popes themselves, taking advantage, now of the unworthy choice and of the tumults which occurred too often at Rome, now of the services which he rendered to the Roman Church as her advocate against the tyranny of the Counts of Tusculum, and finally succeeded in confiscating all liberty for the aggrandisement of the imperial power. At the Council of Sutri, in 1046,[1] he procured the deposition of three rival popes,[2] who were successively replaced, thanks to his predominant authority, by three others, all Germans.[3] A shameful decree of the Council of 1047 completed his usurpation by submitting all future elections to the will of the emperor, as Roman Patrician. We may judge how much independence was left to bishops and abbots under the sceptre of a prince who thus disposed of the tiara.

Henry III. was nevertheless actuated by a praiseworthy and energetic zeal in favour of the Church:[4] no doubt he believed that he was serving and defending her by subordinating her to his authority, and making her pay the price of her liberty for the peace and security she expected from him. He sincerely wished the good of the Church, but on condition of governing her himself; and to say

[1] The most complete account of this crisis, so humiliating for the Church, is to be found in the work of Bonizo, Bishop of Sutri and Piacentia, martyred in 1089. This book, entitled *Liber ad amicum* (apud Œfele, *Script. rer. Boicarum*, vol. ii. p. 801), is very inexact upon earlier events, but contains a most faithful narrative of what happened in Italy after the reign of Henry III.

[2] Benedict IX., Sylvester III.; and the virtuous Gregory VI., who confessed himself guilty of simony: "Nihil melius putabat quam electionem clerico et populo per tyrannidem injuste sublatam his pecuniis restaurare."—Bonizo, p. 802.

[3] Clement II., Damasius II., and Leo IX.

[4] Thus, St. Gregory VII., in his correspondence, always speaks of this prince with respect and affection. He could appreciate his intentions even while demolishing his work.

truth, it was he alone who guided her during the first ten years of his reign.

This confusion of powers raised fewer difficulties than might at first have been expected. The influence of the prince was considered a natural consequence of the great authority which the generous piety of the emperors of the house of Saxony had purchased for them in ecclesiastical affairs. It seems to enter into the purposes of God that His eternal Church, as if to render more visible the miracle of her duration and triumph, should be ceaselessly exposed to a double danger; for such is the extreme and perpetual delicacy of her position, that she has often not less to fear from her friends than from her enemies. Too often the sons of her most devoted protectors have made her repay, with usury, the benefits she received from their fathers. This is a lesson in which the Franconian emperors and the English Plantagenets were not her only instructors.

But this subjection of the mother and mistress Church was not all. All the churches crouched under a yoke yet more shameful—that of an unbridled, and, according to all appearance, irremediable corruption. Faith lived undiminished in the heart of the Catholic people whom no heresy had yet infected; but, except in the monasteries, sacerdotal virtues seemed to have deserted the ranks of the clergy who were charged to guide and sustain the nations in the way of truth. If this state of things had continued, no one can calculate the results to the future of humanity that must have followed; for the Church and civil society were then in too close alliance for one to suffer without the other.

The evils of the time may be summed up under three heads: simony, that shameful commerce in sacred things in which the chiefs of the clergy were too often the active accomplices of the laity; the custom of marriage or concubinage among the clergy, who, after having bought their benefices from the nobles, lowered themselves to the level

of these nobles by incontinence; finally, the encroachments of the secular power, and the destruction of liberty and purity of ecclesiastical elections in all ranks, in consequence of the abuse of investiture, and the powers which royal authority pretended to found upon this institution.

It is difficult for those who know the Church only as she issued from the furnace, purified and saved by the heroic efforts of nearly a century of struggle, from St. Leo IX. to Calixtus II.—it is difficult for them to imagine that she could have fallen so low as that kings could dispose, absolutely and without control, of all ecclesiastical dignities—that all was venal, from the episcopate, and sometimes even the papacy, down to the smallest rural benefice; and that the whole clergy, with the exception only of the monks and of some bishops and priests quoted as marvels, lived in permanent and systematic concubinage. And yet these things were so; for all authors are unanimous in proving it by irrefutable testimony. This we must acknowledge and proclaim, in order to understand at once the terrible extent of the dangers which may menace the Church on earth, and the immense services which have been rendered to her by popes sprung from the Monastic Orders. Nowhere was the evil greater than in Italy—nowhere did the depravity of the clergy reach a more horrible height.[1] The episcopate there was not exposed to the attacks of royal despotism, as in Germany, France, and England; on the contrary, the powers of the bishops had grown considerably since the days of Charlemagne. Italy was not the seat of any sovereignty capable of eclipsing or repressing such an authority, except during the rare appearances of the German

[1] The strongest proof of the depravity which then reigned among the secular clergy of Italy, is found in the treatise of St. Peter Damianus, entitled, *Liber Gomorrhianus*, which was approved by St. Leo IX., but which Alexander II. judged, with good reason, to be too crude to be given to the public. For this reason the Pope carried off the work from its author, and shut it up in a casket. See St. P. Damian's complaints on the subject, b. ii. c. 6.

emperors or kings. But the great influence of the episcopate, far from proving a benefit to the Church, was, on the contrary, an arm against her in the hands of her most redoubtable enemies. Most Italian bishops were not content with supporting, to the detriment of the Holy See, the encroachments of those emperors from whom they received investiture, following thus the example of the German bishops; they moreover exercised and propagated simony with the most revolting effrontery.[1] They had fixed a tariff for all ecclesiastical employments, and the market for them was public.[2] We will only cite one example. There was, in 1060, at Florence, a bishop, son of a noble of Pavia named Theuzo Mezzabarba, whose authority was little respected by the monks or zealous Catholics, because he was accused of having notoriously bought his bishopric. The father of the intruder, who was of a frank and simple character, being on a visit to him, the Florentines said to the old man—"Signor Theuzo, did you pay much to the king for your son's bishopric?" "By the body of St. Syr!" answered Theuzo, "there is not so much as a mill to be had from the king without plenty of money; so, for the bishopric of Florence, I had to pay three thousand livres, as if it had been a sol."[3]

After having thus bought their dignity, either of the emperor, or of his vicars, or of some other lay usurper—after having paid to the metropolitans and chapters the gold which was the price of their pretended election—the prevaricating prelates, in their turn, created large resources by selling to the inferior clergy ecclesiastical offices of all degrees, and the right of occupying parishes and benefices.[4]

[1] DÖLLINGER, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen Geschichte*, vol. ii. sect. 82; STENTZEL, *Geschichte der fränkischen Kaiser*, vol. i. p. 109.

[2] "Omnia ministeria ecclesiastica eo tempore ita habebantur venalia, quasi in foro sæcularia mercimonia."—RADUL. GLABRI, b. v. c. 5.

[3] FLEURY, *Hist. Eccles.*, b. lxi. c. 1.

[4] Already Pope Sylvester II. had denounced bishops who paid to archbishops the price of their consecration, and who, in turn, sold orders to

Such were the bishops whom a contemporary, St. Peter Damian, also a bishop, calls heretical brigands, and of whom he says, it is easier to convert a Jew than to bring them to repentance.[1]

Even the popes had reason to reproach themselves for having given way to this unbridled cupidity. Such is the witness borne against them by Pope Victor III., in the picture which he drew, while still a monk at Monte Cassino, of the disorders and mischiefs in the Church under the Emperor Henry III.: "In consequence of the neglect of the sovereign pontiffs," said the venerable abbot, "the whole of Italy feels the scourge: the clergy, almost without exception, buy and sell the gift of the Holy Ghost;[2] the priests and deacons live publicly with their wives, and occupy themselves in providing for their children;[3] bishops entertain concubines in their houses, under the name of wives, in the midst of

the inferior clergy. Domnizo, author of the *Rhymed Life of the Countess Matilda*, which is one of the most authentic sources for the history of this time, says—

"Sed et omnis episcopus urbis
Plebes * vendebat, quas sub se quisque regebat
Exemplo quorum, manibus nec non laicorum
Ecclesiæ Christi vendebantur maledictis
Presbyteris, clericis, quod erat confusio plebis."

[1] "Venenata illa hæresis præsertim in episcopali ordine, tam dura et ad convertendum rigida, ut semper promittens, semper de die in diem producens, atque in futurum procrastinans, facilius possit Judæus ad fidem converti, quam hæreticus latro plene ad pœnitentiam revocari."—S. PETR. DAM., in *Vit. S. Romualdi*, c. 35.

[2] "Dum negligentia sacerdotum, maximeque romanorum pontificum, Italia a recto religionis tramite paulatim devians, labefactaretur, in tantum mala consuetudo adolevit, . . . ut populus electionem, et sacerdotes consecrationem, denumque sancti Spiritus, quod gratis accipere et dare divina auctoritate statutum fuerat, data, acceptaque per manus pecunia ducti avaritia vendebant, ita ut vix aliquanti invenirentur, qui non hujus simoniacæ pestis contagione fœdati. . . ."—DESIDERII, ABB. CASIN., *Dial. de mirac.*, lib. iii. ap. MURATOR., *Script.*, iv. p. 396.

[3] "Ipsi presbyteri et diacones . . . laicorum more, uxores ducere susceptosque filios hæredes testamento relinquere."—*Ibid.*

* Plebes means *parish*; in Italian *pieve*.

Rome itself."[1] Another contemporary, a great enemy of the Germans, is obliged to acknowledge that, in 1040, when Clement was elected to the papacy, "it would have been very difficult to find at Rome a single priest who was not illiterate, or simoniacal, or had not a concubine."[2]

But the principal scene of this plague was Lombardy. From 820, Pope Pascal I. had reproached the Milanese Church with selling holy orders.[3] Since then the evil had increased, and was at its height in the eleventh century. Hunting, drunkenness, usury, debauchery of all kinds, were habitually and universally practised by ecclesiastics of all ranks.[4] Priests strove who should have the most sumptuous dresses, the most abundant table, or the most beautiful mistress.[5] The whole clergy bought ordination and benefices, gave themselves up to all kinds of disorders, and nourished a profound hatred to Roman supremacy. In vain did a few priests and clerks who remained pure, directed by two Milanese nobles—Canon Anselm of Badoagio[6] and deacon Ariald[7]—and supported by a certain number of faithful lay-

[1] "Nonnuli etiam episcoporum verecundia omni contempta, cum uxoribus domo simul in una habitare: et hæc pessima et exsecranda consuetudo intra urbem maxime pullullabat."—DESIDERII, ABB. CASIN., *ibid.*

[2] "Cum non haberent de propria diœcesi . . . ut in tanta Ecclesia vix unus posset reperiri, quin vel illiteratus, vel simoniacus vel esset concubinarius."—BONIZO, *Lib. ad amic.*, p. 802.

[3] DÖLLINGER, *Lehrbuch der Kirchen Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 87.

[4] "Aut cum canibus et accipitribus huc illucque pervagantes, alii vero tabernarii, alii usurarii existebant, cuncti fere cum publicis uxoribus sive scortis suam ignominiose ducebant vitam."—B. ANDREÆ, *Vit. S. Arialdi.*, ap. *Act. S.S. O. B.*, die 27 Junii.

[5] "Ille sacerdos laudabilior cujus vestis comtior, cujus mensa copiosior, cujus concubina splendidior."—*Vit. S. Anselm. Lucens*, c. 12, in *Act. S.S. O. B.*, vol. ix.

[6] It is necessary to distinguish between the two Anselms who figure in Church history at this period. The first, Anselm of Badoagio, Bishop of Lucca, was Pope under the name of Alexander II.: the second, nephew of the preceding, was, like him, Canon of Milan and Bishop of Lucca; he was the director of the Countess Matilda, and the Church venerates him under the name of St. Anselm of Lucca. We shall see later the history of a third Anselm, also an Italian—St. Anselm of Canterbury.

[7] "Ex equestri progenie trahens ortum vir liberalibus studiis ad prime

men, form, under the name of *Pataria*, a great association for the defence of the faith.[1] This association, encouraged by the apostolic legates Peter Damian and Hildebrand, only succeeded, after a heroic struggle of twenty years against the depravity and sanguinary violence of the Lombard clergy, in giving a temporary check to the disorders; the mischief, fomented by Guido, the simoniacal Bishop of Milan, always revived, and carried all before it. The captains of towns and the feudatories, who sold benefices for their own profit —the families of the countless simoniacal clergy, backed at the same time by the relations of their concubines,— formed an army too numerous and too much concerned in the scandal to permit the efforts of orthodox Catholics to triumph.[2] The deacon Ariald, head of the Catholic party, at last attained martyrdom. It is in these terms that his disciple—like himself, beatified by the Church—the Blessed Andrea, relates the last conflict of this glorious defender of ecclesiastical celibacy: "Two clerks, sent by the niece of Archbishop Guido, arrived suddenly in the desert island which Ariald inhabited, and threw themselves upon him like famished lions throwing themselves on their prey. Having unsheathed the swords with which they were armed, they seized their victim each by one of his ears, and spoke to him in these words, 'Say, rogue, is our master a true and worthy archbishop?' 'He has never been so,' replied Ariald; 'for neither in the past nor present has he ever fulfilled

eruditus."—BONIZO, *loc. cit.*, p. 805. The partner in his attempt was another deacon, Landulphus, whom Bonizo thus describes: "*Ex majorum prosapia ortus, vir urbanus et facundissimus.*"

[1] "Crescebat quotidie gloriosum genus paterinorum."—BONIZO, *loc. cit.*

[2] "Multitudo clericorum qui in eadem ecclesia est innumerabilis ut arena maris, concitaverunt capitaneos et vavassores ecclesiarum venditores et consanguineos et concubinarum suarum propinquos."—BONIZO, *loc. cit.* See, for interesting details of this struggle, ARNULPH., *Hist. Mediol.*, and LANDULPH. SENIOR, *Hist. Mediol.*, ap. MURAT., *Script.*, vol. iv.; PURICELLI, *de SS. martyr. Arialdi et Herlemb.*, 1657, *et ap. Act. SS. Bolland.*, die 27 Junii. The *Manual of Ecclesiastical History* of Professor Döllinger gives an excellent sketch of it.

the office of an archbishop.' At these words the two bandits cut off the ears of the holy deacon, who, raising his eyes to heaven, cried, 'I thank Thee, Lord Jesus, for having to-day deigned to admit me among Thy martyrs.' Questioned a second time, Ariald replied, with heroic firmness, 'No, your master is not what you call him.' Then the two butchers cut off his nose and upper lip, and blinded his two eyes; after that they cut off his right hand, saying, 'This hand wrote the letters thou sentest to Rome.' This done, the wretches mutilated the sufferer in the most shameful manner, adding, in derision, 'Thou hast preached chastity, now thou wilt be chaste for ever.' Finally, they tore out his tongue, through an opening made under his chin, pronouncing these odious words, 'It will be silent now, this tongue which has demanded the dispersion of the families of the clergy, and caused husbands and wives to be separated.' But already the soul of Ariald had quitted the earth."[1]

This Christian hero died June 27, 1066; but his death did not end the war: the blood of the martyr only served to fertilise the germs of that victory which afterwards brought about the triumph of the cause of unity and celibacy even in the Church most rebellious to Roman discipline.

In Spain similar disorders had arisen from the marriage of priests; for we find the Council of Girona, held in 1078 by a legate of Gregory VII., condemning, by three different canons, the hereditary transmission of ecclesiastical benefices to the sons of priests and clerks.[2]

In France the royal power already dominated episcopal elections, and gave full scope to simony. A crowd of French prelates, it is proved by contemporary narratives, owed their dignity only to the money with which they had bought it. Simony had become the principal revenue of the kingdom

[1] We borrow here the translation of the original text, given by M. le Comte d'Horrer in a narrative entitled, *La Pataria de Milan*, in vol. xxiii. of *L'Université Catholique*, June 1847.

[2] Can. 3, 4, and 5, ap. LABB. and COLETTI, *Concil.*, vol. xii. p. 627.

—the one whose produce was most regular and most abundant. King Philip I., distinguished in history as of all men the most venal in spiritual matters,[1] was not content with selling ecclesiastical dignities; he added to this source of revenue that of pillaging the foreign merchants who came to the fairs in France. Following his example, certain nobles held at ransom the French pilgrims who were going to Rome.[2]

As to the lower clergy, we may judge how they had profited by the example set by their superiors from the resolute resistance they opposed to the reforming decrees of St. Gregory VII., especially in the metropolitan sees of Reims and Rouen. In Normandy, priests were publicly married, only paying a tax to the bishop;[3] and they audaciously bequeathed their churches and benefices to their sons, or gave them as a dowry to their daughters.[4]

Everywhere the children of priests, dishonoured by the very fact of their birth, objects of popular reprobation, as well as of canonical interdiction, became bitter enemies of the Catholic cause. "The Church," said Pope Benedict VIII., in open council, "has no worse foes than these infamous sons of infamous fathers."[5]

In Germany the evil was yet more general and more in-

[1] "Hominem in rebus Dei venalissimum."—GUIBERT. NOV., *De Vita sua*, b. iii. c. 2.

[2] See the energetic reproaches heaped upon Philip I. by St. Gregory VII. —*Regist.*, book i. ep. 35; ii. ep. 5 and 18.

[3] See the prohibitions of the Council of Lillebonne on this subject in 1080.—LABBE and COLETTI, vol. xii. pp. 650–654.

[4] "Pro consuetudine tunc temporis per totam Normanniam hoc erat, ut presbyteri publice uxores ducerent, nuptias celebrarent, filios ac filias procrearent, quibus hæreditario jure post obitum suum ecclesias relinquerent, filias suas nuptui tradentes, multoties, si alia deesset possessio, ecclesiam dabant in dotem."

[5] "Ipsi quoque clerici . . . ampla prædia, ampla patrimonia et quæcumque bona possunt, de bonis Ecclesiæ . . . infamis patris, infamibus filiis adquirunt. . . . Hi sunt qui tumultuantur contra Ecclesiam: nulli pejores hostes Ecclesiæ quam isti."—*Præfat. Benedict. VIII., ad concil. Ticin*, MANSI, vol. xix. p. 344, ap. HEFELE, vol. i. p. 206.

veterate than in France, for it infected even the Monastic Orders. There simony, in all its varieties, reigned supreme; it imposed upon the whole clerical order a servile submission to the will and interests of the earthly master, and thus in a manner established ties of shameful sympathy between the vices of princes and the weakness of the Church. It was not alone the purchase of benefices which the Catholic doctors reprobated under the name of simony; they reproved the obsequious complaisance and culpable flatteries with which the clergy treated princes, in order to obtain benefits from them.[1] However, money was the means most frequently and profitably employed: beyond the Rhine, as well as in France and Italy, bishops were for the most part the authors or interested abettors of this profanation, which took proportions so much the more alarming that it was combined with the custom of investiture, more frequent and more universal in Germany than elsewhere, which had led the emperors to arrogate to themselves not only the right to confer on favourites the territorial fiefs attached to different benefices, but also to appropriate all Church dignities to candidates of their own choice.

Priests, among whom ambition often took the place of conscience, habituated themselves to consider the lay power as the only source of ecclesiastical dignities; they knew that this power was always in want of money, and that their pecuniary offers would seduce even the best-intentioned princes, since simony constituted their most certain revenue. This monstrous abuse was so inveterate that the most pious, and sometimes the most austere princes jested about it as a common infirmity. When Otho the Great conferred the bishopric of Ratisbon on a holy monk of St. Emmeran, named Gunther, he asked him what he intended to give as

[1] This is St. Peter Damian's definition of simony: "Tria dicuntur esse munerum genera, scilicet munus a manu (*i.e.*, pecunia), munus ab obsequio (*i.e.*, obedientia subjectionis), et munus a lingua (*i.e.*, favor adulationis)." —*Opusc.*, xxii. c. i., *contra clericos aulicos*.

payment for the episcopate; to which the good monk replied, laughing, "Nothing but my shoes."[1] Who cannot understand how many abuses must follow such venality among clergy, from whom the disinterestedness and simplicity of Gunther were not to be expected?

History shows us the court of the emperors full of greedy priests of bad morals, hunting after vacant bishoprics, disputing the right of purchase, and always ready to maintain themselves by the most servile complaisance in the dignities which they owed to the most scandalous traffic.[2]

We must do the Emperor Henry III. the justice to say that he made most generous efforts to destroy the plague of simony,[3] which his father, Conrad II., had, on the contrary, developed. In a general meeting of the bishops of the empire, this prince one day addressed to them energetic remonstrances on the subject of the avarice and cupidity of the clergy. "All the orders of the ecclesiastical hierarchy," said he, "from the heads of the Church down to the porter at her gates, are crushed under the weight of their own condemnation; and spiritual brigandage, according to the word of the Lord, rules over all."[4] Henry even made an edict by which it was forbidden to pay or receive money for

[1] "Quid mihi, frater, pro adipiscendo episcopatus honore vis dare? Senior ad hoc subridens: Calceos, inquit, meos."—*Annalista Saxo*, ad ann. 952; DIETHM. MERSEB., *Chron.*, ii. 8, c. 17.

[2] "Nullus enim tunc in subrogandis ponticificibus vel aliis ecclesiasticis dignitatibus canonicæ sanctionis ordo servabatur: sed qui tantum regis vel principis manum implevisset, seu aliud qualecumque obsequium sibi placitum impendisset, regia præficiebatur violentia ubi voluisset."—*Gesta Trevirens. Archiep.*, ap. MARTÈNE, *Ampliss. Collectio*, vol. iv. p. 171. See also, *passim*, Lambert of Aschaffenbourg, all the contemporary authors, and those of our times, Voigt, Stentzel, Döllinger, Alzog, &c., &c.

[3] This is the testimony borne to him by St. Peter Damian.

[4] "Ingens vos incipio loqui. . . . Vos enim avaritia et cupiditate corrupti. . . . Omnes quippe gradus ecclesiastici a maximo pontifice ad hostiarium opprimuntur per suæ damnationis pretium et juxta vocem dominicam in cunctis grassatur spirituale latrocinium."—RADULPH. GABRI., *Hist.*, book v. c. 5, ap. DUCHESNE, *Script.*, vol. iv. p. 58.

any ecclesiastical rank or office, under pain of anathema. He promised to set the example himself: "God," said he, "has given me freely for no price, and of His mercy alone, the crown of the empire; I will therefore do the same with all that belongs to the Church." [1]

But it was not for a layman that God reserved the honour of purifying the Church; it was necessary, in the first place, to set her free, and this was little in the thoughts of Henry III. The good intentions of this prince remained, therefore, completely without effect; and when, on his death in 1056, the crown of Germany passed to Henry IV., who was still a child, simony and concubinage vied with each other in desolating the German Church. From that time onward these two plagues spread and rooted themselves. They attained their climax when the young king began to govern by himself. Henry sold openly, to the highest bidder, bishoprics, abbeys, and deaneries; sometimes he gave them to shameless clerks, his companions in debauchery,[2] or to those whose base complaisance would, as he knew, never resist his will.[3] Often, even, he provided two candidates for the same see, reserving to himself, as if to add derision to the most sacrilegious cupidity, the right of deposing the first as simoniacal if the second should offer a higher price.[4]

[1] "Sicut enim mihi Dominus coronam Imperii sola miseratione sua gratis dedit: ita et ego quod ad religionem ipsius pertinet, gratis impendam."—RADULPH. GABRI., *ibid.*

[2] "Non quisquam episcopus, aut abbas, sive præpositus esse potuit, nisi qui majorem pecuniam habuit, vel ipsius spurcitiarum compos extitit, et fautor assensit."—*Vit. S. Anselm. Lucens.*, c. 22.

[3] "Rex recolens Annonis conscientiam et invictum adversus omnes nefarios suos conatus spiritum, consulto talem successorem ordinare satagebat, cujus facilitate ad omnia quæ vellet pro libitu suo abuti posset."—LAMBERT, ann. 1076.

[4] "Episcopos enim non pro qualitate meritorum . . . constituit, sed si quis majorem pecuniam dedit, vel ipse major ejus flagitiorum adulator extitit, hic dignior quolibet episcopatu fuit. Cumque alicui sic episcopatum dedisset, et ei alius plus daret, vel ejus magis facinora laudaret, illum priorem quasi simoniacum deponi fecit, et istum secundum quasi

Thus freedom of election had entirely disappeared; election itself, indeed, existed only in name; the choice imposed by the king was disguised under a vain formality, as it still is in the English Church. If, by chance, the clergy of a diocese would not accept the candidate whom it was the king's pleasure to indicate, Henry interfered, and rendered any other choice virtually impossible:[1] the clergy always yielded in the end. It was in this way that the king succeeded in placing in the metropolitan see of Cologne an obscure person named Hidulphus, who was so detested and despised, that when he appeared in the streets the people threw stones at him, and followed him with taunts and insults.[2] Yet Hidulphus had been for a long time a member of the Chapter of Goslar, where Henry IV. usually lived, and where the canons, men degraded by all the vices of a debauched and unbridled court, formed, as it were, the nursery which furnished bishops to the great sees of Germany and Italy.[3] The contempt and horror inspired in the faithful by pastors of such a kind passed all bounds.[4]

sanctum in eodem loco consecrari. Unde contigit ut multæ civitates in illo tempore duos episcopos simul haberent."—BRUNO, *De Bello Saxon.*, c. 15, ap. PERTZ, v. 334.

[1] "Coloniensis clerus et populus ad eligendum sibi antistitem frequens confluxerat. Quibus rex Hildolfum quemdam, Goslariensem canonicum, offerebat, atque ut eligerent, insistebat . . . contestatus quam sancte se vivo aut nullum eos aut hunc habituros esse pontificem." —LAMBERT, ann. 1076.

[2] "Ut sicubi in publico apparuisset, omnes eum tanquam aliquod antiquitatis monstrum inconditis clamoribus et canticis perurgerent, lapidesque in eum pulverem . . . jactarent."—*Ibid.*

[3] For example, beside Hidulphus, Archbishop of Cologne, the unworthy successor of the great Hanno, Rupert, Bishop of Bamberg, William, Bishop of Verona, all members of the Assembly at Worms, where Gregory was declared to have forfeited the papacy.—Cf. DÖLLINGER, *Handbuch*, vol. ii. pp. 137–150. An old life of St. Benno, reproduced by the Bollandists, *Act. SS. Junii*, vol. iii. p. 160, gives the complete list of the *forty-six* bishops who were drawn from this chapter in the reigns of Henry IV. and V.

[4] "Virum pessimæ existimationis in populo, *eo quod* regi familiarissimus et omnibus ejus secretis semper intimus fuisset." This is what is

It is easy to understand the strong and fatal link which bound together the three plagues of incontinence, simony, and investitures. The miserable priests who began by buying dearly of the prince or bishop their benefices or their priesthood, had, in addition, to support a wife and children. Consequently, their ardent desire must have been, first, to indemnify themselves for their pecuniary sacrifices; and, secondly, to secure the fortune of their family, by transforming, as far as possible, their benefice into a hereditary property, which they endeavoured to hand on to one of their children or relations. But, to accomplish this, they needed the support of the temporal power. Hence the eagerness of the clergy, enervated by their own dishonour, to accept imperial investiture, to seek there the true source and sole guarantee of all spiritual authority; and hence, also, the complete annihilation of freedom and of ecclesiastical dignity.

According to the vigorous language of a doctor of the twelfth century, the princes of this time imposed upon the Church not the elect of God, but creatures of their own, that, after having chosen, they might the better humiliate them. The Church, from being mistress, became a servant. It was no longer the election of the clergy, the consent of the nobles, the petition of nations, which determined the choice of bishops. Neither holiness nor learning was sought for. The first comer had only to present himself with his hands full of money, and he became a priest, not of God, but of Mammon—of that prince of this world to whom Satan has said, "I will give thee all if thou wilt bow down and worship me." The dependants of monarchs constantly worked upon the pride and avarice of their masters, and showed them the more servility, the more sure they were of arriving by that means at the height of ecclesiastical dignity. This leprosy, springing from one polluted source, the Emperor, and pass-

said by Lambert of Aschaffenbourg (ann. 1075) of that Rupert whom Henry had chosen from the Chapter of Goslar to make him Bishop of Bamberg.

ing through pontiffs already corrupted, spread through the whole body of the clergy. When a bishop had bought his see for so many hundred marks, his next business, in order to refill his empty purse, was to sell to priests abbeys, provostships, archdeaconries, and parishes—and at the same time ordination to the clergy; while those who had acquired these things, traded, in their turn, in the different offices of the Church, and even in burial-places, so as to reimburse themselves for the money which they had advanced.[1]

This was the state of affairs in Italy, Germany, and even France. The whole Church was polluted. All witnesses agree in proving that from the bishops to the humblest curates, the whole ecclesiastical order was attacked by a contagion, the painful memory of which is prolonged through the Catholic ages, and which only increased in intensity till the day when Hildebrand set himself against it like a wall, re-established the ancient law, saved both the purity and the freedom of the Church, and turned the torrent of corruption back into its ignoble bed.[2]

[1] "Reges in Ecclesia Dei non quos volebat, sed quos volebant . . . exaltabant; et quos volebant, humiliabant. . . . Ecclesia quæ erat domina, facta est ancilla. . . . Non electio cleri, non consensus honoratorum, non petitio populi . . . sed quicumque volebat, implebat manum suam, et factus est sacerdos non jam Domini sed Mammonæ et principis hujus mundi, &c. . . . Principum in quibus superbiæ et avaritiæ spiritus habitabat, ad hoc clientelæ deservire. . . . Unde e capite, imperatore videlicet, non bene sano et e pontificibus hujus lepræ contagio maculatis per totum fere cleri corpus pestis se diffuderat. Nam dum episcopus episcopatum marcarum aliquot centenariis coemisset, &c. . . . quidnon et ipsi ecclesiasticarum administrationum usque ad sepulturæ locum et officium venale haberent? . . . quatenus saltem marsupia exinanita replerent."—GERHOHI REICHERSPERG., *De stat. Eccl.*, c. 10, ap. GRETSER, vol. iv. p. 249.

[2] "In diebus istis" (that is to say, in the twelfth century, after the triumph of the Church), "magna est libertas canonicis electionibus episcoporum, abbatum, &c., provehendorum in dignitatibus, quas per multos annos pœne temporibus Ottonis I. usque Henricum IV., vendere solebant ipsi reges vel imperatores, regnantes absque simonia, dum per simoniacos episcopos in cathedra pestilentiæ positos mortifera illa pestis dilata est usque ad infimos plebanos et capellanos, per quos valde multiplicatis

But we may affirm, positively, that all the genius of Hildebrand would have been impotent to arrest the evil and cure it, if he had not been able, in that supreme struggle, to wield the resources offered to him by the Monastic Orders.

It has been shown, by all which has gone before, that these Orders had striven constantly and gloriously against human corruption, not only in the world, but also, and above all, in the bosom of the Church. At the period we have now reached, the Church groaned under the triple yoke of simony, sacerdotal incontinence, and temporal supremacy. Now the Monastic Orders had been growing for six centuries in dependence upon three principles diametrically opposed to those which ruled the world, and which were expressed in the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Monks, as we have said, did not always escape the contagion. Who, indeed, does not know the scandals and corruption which sullied some monasteries? But it is incontestable that the scandals were less striking, and the evils less incurable, there than elsewhere, and that the primitive energy of the institution constantly revived and shone forth with renewed and unequalled lustre.

With regard to simony, the very idea of property had been greatly modified, and in a manner transformed, in all monastic institutions by the invariable rule which rigorously forbade to the monk any private possessions. Simony reigned, it is true, wherever princes had arrogated to themselves the right of disposing of the abbeys; but it naturally disappeared when pious princes, as often happened, renounced the right of appointing to abbacies, even while they retained that of filling up bishoprics and other secular benefices. In France, for example, from the accession of the line of Capet, for two or three centuries, the kings gave

Ecclesia pene tota fœdabatur, usque ad Gregorium VII., qui et opposuit murum pro domo Israel, reparando in Ecclesia canonicas electiones juxta pristinas canonum sanctiones." — GERHOH. REICHERSP., *Expos. in Ps.* xxxix., ap. PEZ., *Thes. anecd. noviss.*, vol. v.

up the nomination of abbots, and simony was only practised in the relation between the abbots and bishops, or of the monks amongst themselves. Even in Germany the influence of the mischief was not so deleterious nor so great among the monks as among the members of the secular clergy holding ecclesiastical dignities—since, beside the abbot elected by purchase, there were always monks who, having been stripped of everything the day they entered the cloister, must necessarily revolt, sooner or later, against a simoniacal head.

As to ecclesiastical celibacy, continence had from the beginning been the universal and obligatory law of monks —a law constantly confirmed by councils and popes, both in the East and West. Whatever might be the practice followed, the doctrines professed, the abuses tolerated at different times and in different countries, relative to the marriage of priests, everywhere and always monks had remained free from the slightest suspicion on this score; never had any tie of exclusive or domestic affection hampered their devotion to God and their neighbour. Individual failures had not affected the fundamental principle of the institution; for even amidst the greatest irregularities, in purity at least they had almost always been found without reproach.[1]

Finally, in respect to the subordination of spiritual to temporal power, there was little fear that men, bound at once by a solemn vow, and by all the habits of their lives, to give the strictest obedience to their spiritual superior, could hesitate to prefer the supremacy of the Church and its head to all other rule. The popes, when they laboured with such constant solicitude to secure the independence of

[1] It was said of those English monks of the time of the Conquest whom Lanfranc reformed: "Secularibus haud absimiles erant nisi quod pudicitiam non facile proderent, canum cursibus avocari. . . . Spumantis equi tergum premere, tesseras quatere, potibus indulgere, delicatiori victu . . . et cætera id genus, ut magis illos consules quam monachi frequentia famulantium diceres."—WILHELM MALMESBUR., *De Gestis pontif. angl.*, lib. i. c. 1, in Lanfranco.

the Monastic Orders against the excesses of episcopal power, were guided by an instinct most admirably just. They had thus a right to find, at the chosen moment, in the ranks of the monks, the army which they needed to defend the sanctuary and free the episcopate itself. We shall see that, in spite of the numberless donations and exemptions which it had pleased princes to bestow on the sons of St. Benedict, their gratitude never went so far as to induce them to betray the cause of unity, or of that sacred liberty of the Church without which their existence would have been only a contradiction and an absurdity.[1]

Indeed, the instinct of kings never deceived them in this matter: according as the system which tended to subject the Church to the royal authority by means of investitures developed in their minds, the bishops, whom Charlemagne and his successors had drawn chiefly from the monasteries, ceased to be chosen; the imperial chapel became the school of bishops. A monk-bishop became an exception, exciting the surprise and discontent of those about the court. Different incidents show us how great was the repulsion between courtiers, both lay and ecclesiastic, and the monks in general. At the end of the tenth century, when the Emperor Otho II. conferred the bishopric of Ratisbon on St. Wolfgang, a monk of Notre Dame des Ermites, in Switzerland, the high birth of the holy monk[2] was not sufficient to raise this choice above criticism. One day, seeing the bishop say mass, wearing under his pontifical ornaments his monastic robe of coarse cloth, a knight remarked aloud, "The Emperor was very foolish when he took this ill-looking and ill-dressed man to make a bishop of, in preference to all the noble lords that abound in his States."[3]

[1] DÖLLINGER, *Lehrbuch*, vol. ii. p. 15.

[2] He was son of the Count of Pfullingen, in Suabia, and of a Countess of Veringen.—P. LANDOLF, *Ursprung Einsiedlens*, p. 106.

[3] "Valde insipiens fuit imperator illo tempore quo pannosum istum ac

The German bishops were still more rarely chosen out of monasteries. In 1032, when Conrad II. called to the metropolitan see of Mayence a pious monk of Fulda named Bardo, the familiars of the imperial court loudly blamed the nomination of a man of this kind, as they said, to so important a see: "He is a monk who may be worth something in his own little monastery," they said, "but he is not made for an archiepiscopal throne;" and they ridiculed the newly-elected archbishop by shouting "*Mo, mo*," the first syllable of the word *monachus*, which was odious to them. This peasant, however, was of a very valiant race, and a near relation of the empress; but in their eyes the word monk was sufficient to obscure all his good qualities.[1]

It is evident, then, that the remedy existed side by side with the evil, and that the authors of the evil felt it to be so. Monks had already converted half Europe; they had filled the Church with the perfume of their virtue and the splendour of their sanctity—it remained for them now to save her from the greatest danger she had yet incurred.

despicabilem in pontificali promotione prætulit potentibus personis quæ abundant in regionibus suæ ditionis."—ARNOLFUS, *De memoria B. Emmerani ejusque cultorum*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii. p. 10.

[1] "Erat hic Dei servus reginæ consanguineus. . . . Invidiæ suæ fel evomuerunt: causantes tantæ rusticitatis homunculum, tam præcelsæ sedis factum episcopum, re autem vera invidentes eum esse monachum. . . . Monachus est, aliquid esse potuit in suo monasteriolo, nequaquam tali congruit solio: et quicumque aliquod in eum jaculabantur convicium, hoc in prima parte linguæ jacuit, ut dicerent eum *mo*, ut aperte intelligi posset, quidnam in illo sibi maxime displicuisset. Rex pene impransus est. . . . Quoniam ipse amaris morsibus carpebatur lacerantium."—*Vit. S. Bardonis, Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. x. pp. 9-14.

CHAPTER II

HILDEBRAND BEFORE HIS ELECTION TO THE POPEDOM

Different opinions as to Hildebrand's origin.—A monk at Rome, and pupil of Laurentius of Amalfi.—He accompanies Gregory VI. to France.—His residence at Cluny.—His travels in Germany.—His interview with Leo IX.—His advice to the Pope.—First blow given to the imperial power.—Decretals of Leo IX.—Importance of the Council of Reims.—The liberty of episcopal elections vindicated.—Condemnation of Berenger.—The Norman champions of the Roman Church.—Sublime death of Leo IX.—The Eastern Church separates from Rome.—Accession of Victor II.—Death of Henry III.—Stephen X. elected without the intervention of the Emperor.—Peter Damian.—His austerity.—His independence of mind.—Dominic with the Cuirass.—The Counts of Tusculum.—An intruding Pope.—Pontificate of Nicholas II.—The authority of Hildebrand always increasing.—The election of the Pope confined exclusively to the cardinals.—Alliance with the Normans.—Hanno, Bishop of Cologne.—St. John Gualbertus and the monks of Vallombrosa.—Accession of Alexander II.—Progress of the temporal power.—Hildebrand elected Pope.

EVERY effort, then, that should be made to reform, to purify, or to enfranchise the Church, must necessarily be dependent upon the Monastic Orders. This fact was thoroughly understood by the greatest of the sons of St. Benedict—by Hildebrand—whom the Monastic Orders seem to have given to the Church and to Christianity as a glorious equivalent for all the benefits with which both one and the other had loaded them.

Son of a Tuscan carpenter,[1] but, as his name shows, of

[1] Onuphrius Panvinus, b. iv., *De varia creatione Rom. Pontif.*, maintains that he was noble, and sprang from the illustrious house of the Aldobrandini, princes of Pitigliano. Petraccius, abbot of the order of Vallombrosa in the seventeenth century, has tried to prove that Hildebrand

German origin, Hildebrand had been from childhood a monk in the monastery of Sta. Maria, on Mount Aventine,[1] at Rome, where his uncle was abbot, and where he became the pupil of a learned Benedictine archbishop, the famous Laurentius of Amalfi,[2] and formed a tender friendship with St. Odilon of Cluny. Having early attached himself to the virtuous Pope Gregory VI., it was with indignation that he saw him confounded with two unworthy competitors, and deposed together with them by the arbitrary influence of the emperor at Sutri.[3] He followed the exiled pontiff to France, and, after his death, went to enrol himself among the monks of Cluny,[4] where he had previously

was a son of the Count de Soane, of the celebrated family of Aldobrandeschi, since merged in the Orsini and Sforza. The learned Bollandist Papebroch (*Act. Sanct. Maii*, vol. vi. pp. 111, 150, and 159), does not seem disinclined to attribute to the holy pontiff a more noble birth than is generally supposed. We have followed the common opinion, first supported by the Saxon annalist in the year 1074, ap. ECCARD., i. 513, and confirmed by Cardinal Baronius in his Annals. A contemporary, but the keenest adversary of Hildebrand, Benzo, says of him—

"Natus matre suburbana, de patre caprario,
Cucullatus fecit nidum in Petri solario."
—*Panegyr. Henry IV.*, 1, 6, ap. MENCKEN, *Scr. rer. germ.*, vol. i.

We like the tradition which ascribes to the father of the greatest of Christ's vicars the humble trade exercised by the foster-father of our Lord Himself. We only ask that consequences may not be drawn from it which are at least anachronisms, such as that of Count Alexis de St. Priest, who, at the end of his book on *Royalty*, declares that "democracy ascended the throne of St. Peter in the person of Gregory VII."

[1] Which bears to-day the name of the Priory of Malta.

[2] "Potens in litteris ac biglossus, græce noverat et latine."—S. PETR. DAM., in *Vit. S. Odil. Bibl. Cluniac.*, p. 328. "Quorum uterque animus conglutinabatur individui amore spiritu."—GOTSADUS, in *Vit. ejusd.*, l. i. c. 14.

[3] "Victrix causa diis placuit, sed victa Catoni," says Otto of Frisingen (vi. 33). On this occasion he adds that Hildebrand having become Pope, took the name of Gregory VII. out of love of the deposed Pope, and to protest against the injustice of his deposition. Gregory VI., whom Bonizo describes as "idiota et vir miræ simplicitatis," acknowledged the spending of money to assure his election.

[4] "Venerabilem Johannem . . . quem secutus est Deo amabilis Hildebrandus, volens erga dominum suum exhibere reverentiam; nam antea fuerat suus capellanus. . . . Quo mortuo et in pace sepulto, Cluniacum

resided,[1] and where, according to several writers, he held the office of prior.[2]

During a part of his youth, however, he must have lived at the German Court, where he made a great impression on the Emperor Henry III., and on the best bishops of the country, by the eloquence of his preaching. The emperor said that he had never heard any one preach the Word of God with more courage;[3] it was like Moses before Pharaoh.[4]

tendens, ibi monachus effectus est, et inter religiosos viros adprime philosophotus est."—BONIZO, pp. 802, 803.

[1] PAUL BERNRIED, *Vit.*, cap. 1, says expressly that after his first education by his uncle on Mount Aventine, "jam adolescentiam ingressus, profectus est in Franciam, domiturus inibi carnis petulantiam et molestia peregrinationis et instantia eruditionis," and that he only returned to Rome after some years. The good results of such a journey could evidently only be obtained in a monastery; and the many incidents which different authors relate of Hildebrand's relations with Cluny, entitle us to believe that he lived there during his first absence (*Act. SS. Ord. Ben.*, vol. ix. p. 407). It is the opinion of Papebroch, *loc. cit.*, p. 107, which fixes, with great accuracy, the date of Hildebrand's excursions into France—the first, of which we have just spoken, in his youth, and the other after Gregory's deposition. As to the second visit, it clearly embraces all the time between this deposition and the accession of Leo IX., since Gregory VII. says of himself (in *Conc. Rom. VII.*, ad ann. 1080): "Invitus ultra montes cum domino papa Gregorio abii; sed magis invitus cum domino papa Leone ad vestram specialiter ecclesiam redii."

[2] "Cluniacum, ubi forte Hildebrandus prioratus ut dicitur obedientiam administrabat."—OTTON. FRISING., vi. 33, confirmed by DUCHESNE, in *Not. Bibl. Cluniac.* MABILLON, *Ann.*, i. 58, No. 113, says that he has found no proof of the exercise of these functions by Hildebrand: and PAPEBROCH, *loc. cit.*, thinks that he was then too young; but he forgets that Cluny, at this same period, elected as abbot a man of twenty-five years of age, St. Hugh, previously prior, and that Hildebrand was not younger than he, if, as the learned hagiographer proves, his birth took place about 1020. It seems to us that Hildebrand must have held this office during the short interval between the election of St. Hugh, who was prior under Odilon, and the arrival of Pope Leo IX.; that is to say, during the month of January 1049—St. Odilon having died January 1, and Leo IX. being enthroned at Rome, February 15.

[3] "Occulta Dei præparatione moram fecit aliquantum temporis in aula Henrici III. . . . Aiebat nunquam se audisse hominem cum tanta fiducia verbum Dei prædicantem; probatissimi quoque episcoporum reipublicæ consulentium admirabantur," &c.—PAUL BERNRIED, c. 4.

[4] See the curious legend (incompatible, however, with the age of the

Hildebrand, therefore, inhabited, and was able to study successively, the two camps whence were to issue the most devoted soldiers and the most bitter adversaries of the cause which he himself was soon to personify. God thus prepared, partly by the austere discipline of the cloister, partly in the midst of worldly agitation, the genius of the monk who, with the aid of monks, was to vanquish the world.[1]

It was at Cluny[2] that Hildebrand met, in 1049, the new Pope, Bruno, Bishop of Toul, sprung from the powerful and

two personages) relative to the disputes of the young Hildebrand, while he was at the Court of Henry III., with the son of the king, afterwards Henry IV., the empress's dream, &c., in the *Annalista Saxo*, ann. 1074, ap. PERTZ, vol. vi. p. 702.

[1] SCHÖPFLIN, *Alsatia Illustrata*, p. 474; HÖFLER, *Die Deutsche Päbste*, ii. 1, 3.

[2] It is Otho of Frisingen who places this decisive interview at Cluny: "Cumque assumpta purpura pontificali per Gallias iter ageret, contigit eum Cluniacum venire. . . . Is (Hildebrandus) Leonem adiens æmulatione Dei plenus . . . redarguit, illicitum esse inquiens, per manum laicum summum pontificem ad totius Ecclesiæ gubernationem violenter introire. Verum si suis se credere velit consiliis, utcumque, et quod majestas imperialis in ipso non exacerbetur, quodque libertas Ecclesiæ in electione canonica renovetur, se pollicetur effecturum. Inclinans ille ad monitum ejus, purpuram deponit, peregrinique habitum assumens ducens secum Hildebrandum iter carpit."—Lib. vi. c. 33. This version has been adopted in the lessons for the festival of St. Gregory VII. in the Roman breviary, and followed by most historians. But Bonizo, who is, according to Stentzel, the most exact of contemporary authors, recurs to show that the meeting was at Besançon. He says the Abbot of Cluny, having wished to go to meet the new Pope, Hildebrand "cœpit rogare patrem ne illo tenderet, dicens eum non Apostolicum sed Apostaticum qui jussu imperatoris Romanum conaretur arripere pontificatum." The Abbot St. Hugh went none the less to Besançon, and "hæc venerabili episcopo (Brunoni) intimavit." It is not precisely said that Hildebrand accompanied him; but the Pope asked to see him: "quod et factum est," adds Bonizo, without saying whether it was at Besançon or Cluny.—See *Liber ad amicum*, ap. ŒFELE, *Scrip. rer. Boïcar.*, ii. 803. Bruno de Segni, in his Life of Leo IX. (*Bib. Max. Patr.*, xx. p. 1730), thinks, on the contrary, that it was at Worms Hildebrand persuaded Leo to take this side. This opinion is followed by Mabillon, b. lviii. No. 113. However this may be, all authorities prove the influence Hildebrand had obtained over the new Pope before going with him to Italy, necessarily passing by Besançon and Cluny.—See *Act. SS. Boll.*, p. 109.

pious race of Nordgau and Eggisheim, whose ancestors had distinguished themselves, some by their monastic foundations, others by ending their warlike career under the cowls of monks. Bruno himself had been a monk:[1] his cousin, the Emperor Henry III., had, by his own authority, caused him to be elected at Worms, December 1048, and proclaimed under the name of Leo IX. Hildebrand, seeing him already clothed with the pontifical purple, reproached him for having accepted the government of the Church, and advised him to guard ecclesiastical liberty by being canonically elected at Rome. Bruno yielded to this salutary remonstrance: laying aside the purple and the pontifical ornaments, he caused Hildebrand to accompany him to Rome, where his election was solemnly renewed by the Roman clergy and people.[2] This was the first blow given to the usurped authority of the emperor. From that moment Hildebrand was withdrawn from Cluny by the Pope, in spite of the strong resistance of the abbot St. Hugh.[3] Created Cardinal Sub-deacon of the Roman Church, and Abbot of San Paolo fuori le Mura, he went on steadily towards the end he had in view. Guided by his advice,[4] Leo IX., after having renewed his courage at Monte Cassino, prepared several decrees of formal condemnation against the sale of benefices and against the marriage of priests; and these decrees were fulminated in a series of councils on both sides the Alps, at Rome, Verceil, Mayence, and Reims.

The enemy, till then calm in the midst of his usurped rule, felt himself sharply wounded.[5] Nevertheless, the

[1] This is proved by his last words, which we shall quote further on.

[2] See the details of this re-election in BONIZO, p. 803.

[3] "Quem ab abbate, multis precibus vix impetraverat."—BONIZO, *loc. cit.*

[4] "Ejusdem Hildebrandi consilio omnia in itinere et in hac civitate fecit."—*MS. de Vita Pontif.*, ap. BOLLAND., p. 109. "Cujus consilio synodum mox congregavit."—BONIZO, *loc. cit.*

[5] "Tunc fortis armatus, qui in multa pace custodierat atrium suum, sensit se obligatum. . . . Hæc synodus gladium in viscera mersit inimici."—BONIZO, *loc. cit.*

simoniacal bishops, accomplices or authors of all the evils the Pope wished to cure, pretended as well as they could not to understand the nature and drift of the pontiff's act.[1] They hoped time would be their friend; but they were soon undeceived.

Among the many assemblies convoked and presided over by Pope Leo IX., the Council of Reims, held in 1049, was the most important.[2] Influenced by the suggestion of certain nobles who knew that their violence and licentiousness would be exposed and censured before the eyes of Christendom,[3] and excited by the prelates who had similarly compromised themselves, Henry I., King of France, opposed the holding of this Council with all his might;[4] and many of the French bishops who had acquired their sees by simony, made the opposition of the king a pretext for avoiding an assembly where they feared to see their misdeeds brought to light. The Pope stood his ground: he was only able to gather round him twenty bishops; but, on the other hand, there came fifty Benedictine abbots.[5] Thanks to their support, energetic canons were promulgated against the two great scandals of the time, and several guilty prelates were

[1] "Quod audientes episcopi, primo quidem veritati non volentes resistere tacuere; postea vero, suadente humani generis inimico, inobedientes celavere."—BONIZO, *Episcop. Sutriensis deinde Placentin.*, p. 803.

[2] See the curious account of this Council in *Hist. dedicationis ecclesiæ S. Remigii*, apud BARON., *Annal.*, in Append., ad 1049; MABILL., *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. viii.; COLETTI, *Concil.*, vol. xi. p. 1397.

[3] Such were, to judge by the sentences pronounced by the Council, the Counts Enguerrand and Eustache, Geoffroy of Anjou, Hugh de Brame, and Thibaut de Blois.

[4] We find the counsellors of Henry I. using the arguments lately revived by modern lawyers: "Regi suggerunt, regni sui decus annihilari, si in eo Romani pontificis auctoritatem dominari permitteret. . . . Addunt quod nullus antecessorum ejus id reperiatur aliquando concessisse ut ob similem causam in Franciæ urbes ingressus pateret alicui papæ."—*Hist. dedicat.*, p. 1400. The king, however, did not dare to state his objections publicly; he contented himself with summoning the bishops and the Abbot of St. Remy (in whose church the Council was to be held) to an expedition against insurgent nobles.

[5] *Hist. dedicationis ecclesiæ S. Remigii, loc. cit.*

deposed.[1] They went still further: a decree pronounced by this Council vindicated, for the first time in many years, the freedom of ecclesiastical elections, by declaring that no promotion to the episcopate should be valid without the choice of the clergy and people.[2] This was the first signal of the struggle for the enfranchisement of the Church,[3] and the first token of the preponderating influence of Hildebrand. From that time all was changed. A new spirit breathed on the Church—a new life thrilled the heart of the papacy.

But it was not only the discipline and freedom of the Church which were endangered; Catholic faith and piety were menaced to their very roots by the heresy of Berenger regarding the Holy Eucharist. Here, also, the monks were the instruments of safety. Leo IX. was the first to condemn this impious doctrine,[4] leaving to his successors the care of confirming his sentence, and to Hildebrand, Lanfranc, Durand, Guitmond, and other monks, the task of refuting, by the authority of learning and tradition, the dangerous heresiarch whose equivocal attitude and crafty writings rendered him difficult of repression.[5]

In the interval of these assemblies, Leo IX., indefatigable in his zeal, carried the cause of improvement and monastic reform[6] into Alsace and Lorraine, wherever he

[1] The Bishop of Langres accused and convicted of horrible crimes the Bishops of Nantes, Coutances, and Nevers.—*Hist. dedicationis ecclesiæ S. Remigii, loc. cit.*, and *Acta SS. O. B.*, vol. ix., in *Vit. S. Leon.*, b. xi. c. 4.

[2] "Ne quis sine electione cleri et populi ad regimen ecclesiasticum proveheretur."—*Can.* i., ap. COLETTI, *Concil.*, vol. xi. p. 1411.

[3] DÖLLINGER, *Lehrbuch*, vol. ii. p. 9.

[4] At the Council of Rome in 1050.

[5] "Jamque scatebat omnis Gallia ejus doctrina per egenos scolares," &c.—See *Continuat.* BEDÆ, ap. COMMELIN, iii. c. 57. It is known that Berenger died, as Abelard did later, after having shown all the marks of sincere repentance, and having regained the esteem of many of the most orthodox persons of his time.

[6] "Ipse enim est qui sanctorum scita canonum restituere conatus est, quæ jam transactis temporibus nimis deciderant, et pene a notitia hominum defluxerant: ipse est qui Remis coacto concilio de castitate justitiaque ministrorum Dei tractavit, et salubria decreta quæ jam antistites et presbyteri nesciebant, renovavit."—ORDER. VITAL., b. i. p. 372.

met with the foundations of his pious ancestors, as well as beyond the Rhine, into Italy and even Hungary. St. Diey, Fulda, Hirschau, Subiaco, and Farfa, among other great houses,[1] received new life from the hands of the illustrious pontiff. Monte Cassino three times saw him climb its steeps to repose from greatness in the bosom of penitence, and to mingle in all the exercises of the monks, whose feet he humbly washed.[2] Vanquished and made prisoner by the Normans—not yet, as under St. Gregory VII., transformed into devoted champions of the Church—Leo IX. vanquished them, in turn, by force of courage and holiness, and wrested from them their first oath of fidelity to the Holy See while granting to them a first investiture of their conquests.[3]

Death claimed the pontiff when he had reigned five years. His last hours were sublime. After having exhorted the bishops in the most solemn terms to watch over the Lord's flock, and defend it from wolves, Leo caused himself to be carried to the church of St. Peter; and there, beside his coffin, which he had ordered to be placed ready, he passed almost the whole of two days, sometimes exhorting, with infinite gentleness, the faithful who gathered round him, sometimes prostrate before the altar praying aloud, "O Jesus, O good Shepherd, hear the prayers of Thy servant for this Church, where Thou hast willed that I, unworthy, should occupy the place of the Blessed Peter. It is to Thee, O Lord, that I commend her: surround her

[1] Among the other monasteries which owed to him the confirmation of their privileges or the vindication of their rights, we may remark Nonantula, Cluny, Stavelot, St. Remy of Reims, St. Augustine of Canterbury, St. Vannes of Verdun, Andlau, Remiremont, Corbie, St. Victor of Marseilles, Mount St. Odile, St. Maximin of Treves, St. Sophia of Benevento. The official acts are pointed out by HÖFLER, *Deutsche Päbste*, vol. ii., *passim*.

[2] *Chron. Cassin.*, p. 2, *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 582.

[3] "Ferocissima gens Normannorum . . . crudelitate deposita, ex tunc populos quibus cohabitabat, ut compatriotas amicabilius tractavit, ac venerabili papæ quoad vixit, in omni subjectione fideliter deservivit."—WIBERTI, *Vita S. Leonis*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, ix. 75.

with the impassable rampart of Thy protection; put far from her schism and the perfidy of heretics. Deign to defend her from the snares of her enemies, Thou who hast shed for her Thy precious blood; and if, in defending the faith, I have wrongly bound or excommunicated any, do Thou absolve them, who art kind and merciful."[1] When he had thus prayed, a delightful perfume exhaled from St. Peter's altar and embalmed the church. Then, approaching his stone coffin, in which he seemed to see the likeness of his monk's cell, the Pope spoke to the people of the transitoriness of earthly glory. "See, all of you," he said, "what human life is; see me, who sprang from nothing to attain the height of earthly greatness, now ready to return again to nothing. I have seen my monk's cell change to a spacious palace, and now I must return to the narrow space of this tomb. . . . O stone, be blessed among all stones, and blessed be He who created thee, and hast willed that thou shouldest guard my dust! Be faithful to me, O stone! and as Jesus Christ founded His Church upon the apostolic stone, mayest Thou faithfully keep my bones until the day of judgment, so that at the coming of the terrible Judge thou mayest render me up to thy Creator and mine."[2]

Towards dawn those who watched by the dying Pope

[1] "Salutifera verba et omni dulcedine plena non cessabat proferre. . . . Tibi eam commendo, illam defende inexpugnabili muro tuæ protectionis. . . . Si quos etiam pro tua fide ligatos, vel excommunicatos ab ea crudelius separavi, te, clementissime, precor, absolve."—LEON BENEVENT., *De obit. S. Leon.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. pp. 81, 82.

[2] "Sarcophagium, quod sibi præparaverat, et se quoque in loco deferri in ecclesiam beati Petri præcipit. . . . Cellam quam monachus incolui, in spatiosissima palatia jamdudum vidi conversam: modo ad hujus sarcophagii angustias iterum est remeandum. . . . Benedictus sis inter lapides. Benedicat te qui et ex nihilo fecit et meæ terræ ac corporis voluit esse custodem. Sis mihi, precor, fidelissima petra, ut quemadmodum super apostolicam lapidem suam firmavit Christus Ecclesiam, sic mihi contingat usque ad diem judicii, te meorum ossium fidum habere custodem, ut in die illa cum districtus judex venerit, meo ac tuo me reddas creatori."—*Ibid.*

had a vision:[1] they thought they saw the blessed apostles Peter and Paul talking with their successor, and writing mysterious words. The last utterance of the Pontiff confided to Hildebrand the administration of the Roman Church.[2] At the moment when Leo IX. expired, the bells of St. Peter's sounded of themselves. They buried the Pope, as he requested, in the church of the prince of the apostles, and before the altar of St. Gregory the Great. Thus died the first of the reforming pontiffs who was affected by the influence, henceforth irresistible, of the monk Hildebrand. With Leo IX. the Order of St. Benedict took possession of the Holy See, as of a hereditary patrimony. And, in fact, for a whole century this patrimony remained in the glorious Benedictine family.[3]

At the moment when the struggle between the papacy and the Western empire became open and terrible, the East, by a mysterious decree of Providence, finally separated itself from Catholic unity. Although Photius had, two centuries earlier, fatally attacked the purity and orthodoxy of the Byzantine Church, this Church was far from having broken all connection with the Holy See. But degraded by the passions of her clergy and by her complicity in all the wretchedness of a corrupted people, she escaped more and more from the paternal authority of the Holy See, to become the plaything of imperial despotism. Finally, after a long succession of patriarchs elected and deposed at the will of the lay power, the schism was completed by Michael Cerularius, whom the Emperor Constantine Monomachius had placed, in 1043, on the patriarchal throne. The

[1] "Apparuerunt duo viri in vestibus albis cum eo loquentes, et nescio quid scribentes."—LEON BENEVENT., *De obit. S. Leon.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix., p. 83.

[2] "Coram omni clero et romano populo tradens Deo amabili Hildebrando ejusdem ecclesiæ curam, cœlo spiritum reddidit."—BONIZO, *loc. cit.*, p. 804.

[3] "Adeo ut tum Romana sedes quasi hereditaria successione ad nostros transisse videretur."—ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. rei. lit. O. S. B.*, pars i., c. 1, p. 45.

separation took place under the vain pretext of Greek and Latin observances on the subject of unleavened bread, of strangled meats, and of the singing of the *Alleluia*.[1] Pope St. Leo IX., after having combated by his writings the pretensions of the Greeks, neglected nothing to prevent the rupture: he died before it became irreparable.

The Order of St. Benedict had furnished to Leo IX. zealous and intelligent defenders of the pontifical authority. Among the legates sent to Constantinople to try to bring about a reconciliation between the two Churches, we remark two monks of Lorraine whom Leo IX. had learned to know and esteem in his diocese of Toul. The first was Humbert, Abbot of Moyenmoustier, whom he had made Cardinal-bishop of Sta. Rufina and Abbot of Subiaco; and the second, Frederic, brother of the Duke of Lorraine, afterwards Abbot of Monte Cassino, and Pope under the name of Stephen X.[2] Humbert refuted the assertions of the schismatic patriarch and of his apologists in a work full of energy and learning.[3] He retired after having laid upon the altar of Sta. Sophia an act of excommunication against the author and supporters of the schism.

Frederic, having become Pope, charged his successor at Monte Cassino, Abbot Didier, to continue the same task, which Didier did, fruitlessly indeed, but not without honour.[4] Later, under Alexander II., another monk, Peter, whom Hildebrand had brought from his monastery of Salerno, was taken to Rome, and presented to the Pope, who made him Bishop of Anagni, and legate at Constantinople. He remained there until the death of the Emperor Michael Ducas, contributing to the utmost of his power to maintain

[1] See, among others, FLEURY, ROHRBACHER, and Abbé JAGER, *Cours d'hist. eccles.*, lesson 19, in *l'Université Catholique*, vol. xviii.

[2] Frederic only embraced the religious life on his return from Constantinople. They had, as colleague in their legation, Peter, Archbishop of Amalfi.

[3] It is inserted in the Appendix to vol. xi. of the *Annals* of Baronius.

[4] *Chron. Cassin.*, b. ii. c. 98.

an appearance of unity between the Court of Byzantium and the Roman Church ;[1] but he succeeded no better than his predecessors in changing the real state of affairs.

Leo IX. being dead, the Romans wished to elect Hildebrand, and only renounced their project[2] at his most earnest entreaties. He then hastened to cross the Alps, and directed his steps to Germany,[3] provided with full authority from the Roman clergy and people to choose, under the eyes of the Emperor Henry III., whoever, among the prelates of the empire, that prince should judge most worthy of the tiara.[4]

Thus, thanks to the influence of a monk, the condition of things had been much modified in a short time. The same emperor who formerly had been able to depose three popes, and to nominate three others, yielded, in less than eight years after the Council of Sutri, to the initiative of the Roman Church, while awaiting the rapidly approaching moment when she should become the exclusive mistress of her choice.

Hildebrand selected Gebhard, Bishop of Eichstadt ;[5] and

[1] MABILLON, *Ann.*, b. lxx. c. 114. Peter died in 1105, and was canonised by Pascal II.

[2] "Cum persensisset ven. Hild. Romanum clerum et populum in ejus consensisse electionem, vix multis lachrymis et supplicationibus potuit impetrare. . . ."—BONIZO, p. 804.

[3] To the Council of Mayence in 1054, according to Stentzel, in his excellent chronological table at the end of the *History of the Franconian Emperors*, ii. 234.

[4] "Id fuit in Victoris II. electione singulare quod unius Hildebrandi suffragio Romanam sedem adeptus est. Id enim Hildebrandi in Ecclesiam meritis ab universo clero datum est, ut quem ex imperatoris consensu elegisset ejus rata esset electio."—CANTELIUS, *Met. urb. hist.*, ii. 4, ap. BOWDEN, *Life of Greg. VII.*, i. 173.

[5] Such is the version of all the historians, and notably of the continuator of HERMANN CONTRACT., ann. 1054 ; of BONIZO, p. 804 ; of LEO of OSTIA, in *Chron. Cassin.*, ii. This version has been adopted by Fleury, Mabillon, and Höfler ; and it is difficult to understand why STENTZEL (*Geschichte der Frank. Kaiser.*, i. 162) has preferred, to the testimony of contemporary writers whom he so justly praises (i. 138, and ii. 72), the improbable account of Benzo, whose clumsy falsehoods he has himself denounced, ii. 80-88. See also VOIGT, p. 31. Gebhard was the son of Count Hartwig of Calw, in Suabia, and a very distant relation of the emperor.

in spite of the emperor, who desired to keep near him a bishop who enjoyed his entire confidence—in spite even of Gebhard himself[1]—he carried him off to Rome, where, according to the ancient custom,[2] the clergy proceeded to his election under the name of Victor II. The new Pope, at the risk of his life,[3] adhered to the counsels of Hildebrand, and continued the war made by his predecessor on simoniacal bishops and married priests. Hildebrand being sent as legate to France, hastened to assemble a council in the province of Lyons, where he immediately deposed six bishops convicted of that crime, which was then regarded as the sin against the Holy Ghost. The Archbishop of Embrun had been accused of the same crime; but as he had bribed his accusers, no one said a word against him. Hildebrand required him to say aloud, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost." The archbishop was able to say, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son," but he could not succeed, in spite of all his efforts, in uttering "and to the Holy Ghost." Seeing himself thus convicted by the judgment of God, he confessed his crime, and consented to his own deposition. This example produced so salutary an impression on the Church of France, that forty-five bishops and twenty-seven prelates of a lower order confessed themselves guilty of simony, and abdicated their dignities.[4]

At this crisis the Emperor Henry III. died in the flower of his age,[5] leaving the throne of Germany to his only son,

[1] The chronicle of Monte Cassino says that from this moment he ceased to like monks, in consequence of the violence which the monk Hildebrand had done him in forcing him to accept the papacy.—Book ii. c. 89, ap. MURAT., vol. iv.

[2] BONIZO, *loc. cit.*

[3] The simoniacal party tried to poison him in the wine of the Communion.—LAMB. ASCHAFFENB., ad ann. 1054.

[4] S. PETRI DAMIAN., *Epist. ad Dominic.*, opus 19; COLETTI, *Concil.*, vol. xii. p. 6; BARON., *Ann.*, 1055. "Hujus miraculi testis fuit abbas Hugo . . . de quorum verborum certitudine dubitantem omnis Europa confretat."—GUILL. MALMESB., *De gest. reg. Angl.*, b. iii.

[5] October 5, 1056, at the age of thirty-nine.

a child of six years old, but already elected and crowned—the regent being his mother, the Empress Agnes.[1]

This latter circumstance could not but be favourable to the enfranchisement of the Church. Accordingly, Victor II. had scarcely followed the emperor to the tomb[2] when the Roman clergy hastened, for the first time, to elect a Pope without any imperial intervention. In the absence of Hildebrand, the unanimous choice of the electors fixed on the former chancellor and legate at Constantinople of Leo IX., on Frederic, monk and abbot of Monte Cassino.[3] The new Pope, who was bound by the closest ties to the cause of the liberty of the Holy See, was brother to Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, the husband of the Countess Beatrice of Tuscany, and one of the princes best able to resist the emperor. Raised to the throne by the name of Stephen X., he had scarcely time to distinguish his too short pontificate by a few energetic measures in favour of ecclesiastical discipline and celibacy, and by new negotiations intended to bring back the Church of Constantinople to unity. It was Stephen who created Hildebrand Archdeacon of the Roman Church,[4] and who, following the latter's advice, named Peter Damian, the most austere and most eloquent monk of the day, Cardinal-bishop of Ostia.[5]

This remarkable man, born in 1007, who in after-life was one of the greatest adversaries of the marriage of priests, had, strange to say, when a child, and abandoned by his mother, been saved from death by the care of a priest's wife. Before he became a monk, Damian made himself

[1] BONIZO, *Lib. ad amic.*, p. 805.

[2] July 28, 1057.

[3] See details of the election in LEO OSTIENS., *Chron. Cassin.*, b. ii. c. 97.

[4] This promotion is attributed by some authors to St. Leo IX., by Hugh de Flavigny to Nicolas II., by Baronius to Alexander II. Bonizo says distinctly that it was the work of Stephen.

[5] Bonizo says that Leo IX. made St. Peter Damian a cardinal; but his testimony cannot outweigh that of the contemporary biographer of the saint.—Cf. *Act. SS. Bolland.*, vol. ii. (February), pp. 411, 417.

famous for his learning, and the zeal he showed in the education of his numerous pupils.[1] At thirty-three years of age he embraced the monastic life.[2] From that time he began to attack the disorders of the clergy in many writings, and made himself remarkable by his tender devotion to the Holy Virgin.[3] Stories were told of the excessive penances which he imposed on himself and on the monks of his monastery.[4] For many years he had devoted himself to the salvation of Italy, addressing to the various popes useful encouragements, vigorous remonstrances, and even sometimes bitter censures.[5] He had to be compelled, under pain of excommunication, to accept the rank of cardinal; and having accepted it, he began by a severe exhortation to his colleagues on the decadence of ecclesiastical discipline.[6] But the hours he passed with popes and emperors seemed to him as useless as those employed in writing on sand.[7] His soul thirsted for heaven, and he awaited impatiently the day of that triumph of the saints, which he

[1] *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 256.

[2] "Cumque discendi finem ex omni liberali scientia peritus fecisset, mox alios erudire, clientium turba ad doctrinæ ipsius famam undique confluente studiosissime cœpit."—*Vita Petri Damiani*, in Oper. S. Petr., i. 111.

[3] It was he who first introduced among monks the use of the daily office of the Blessed Virgin.

[4] At Fonte Avellana, in Umbria, where the rule was observed in its primitive simplicity. This abbey, three centuries later, served as an asylum to Dante, who wrote great part of his poem there. Many Italian monasteries gradually ranged themselves under the authority of Damian, without, indeed, forming a distinct order (as Vallombrosa or the Camaldoli), but in a very close union.—MABILL., iv. 515.

[5] See his letters and writings addressed to Gregory VI., Clement II., Leo IX., Victor II.

[6] He says: "Ecclesiastici siquidem genii ubique pene disciplina negligitur."—Lib. ii. ep. 1.

[7] "Nolite, quæso, monachi, nolite sub ecclesiasticæ compassionis specie regum aulas irrumpere. . . . Credite experto: credite in hujus gratiæ studiis non leviter fatigato. Imperatoriæ majestati sæpe quæ suggerenda videbantur expressimus: a summis pontificibus modati, conciliis interfuimus; sed qui hoc tempore ista prosequitur, tanquam si semina crederet arenosis littoribus."—Opusc. xii. c. 30.

sang in admirable verse.[1] In his impatience to die to this world, he desired nothing so much as to live in retreat—which was due to him, he said, as repose is due to an old soldier.[2] But the ever-active Hildebrand continually sent him as legate to Milan, to France, and to Germany, forcing him, till his last day, to carry on the combat with simony, immorality, and lay oppression.[3] Peter always obeyed, though not without protest, the man whom he called the immovable pillar of the Apostolic See.[4]

An attempt has been made to interpret some passages of the correspondence of this great saint so as to discover in it symptoms of opposition to Hildebrand. Nothing could be more unfounded. The great bishop complains of one thing only, and that is the severity of Hildebrand in obliging him to remain in the midst of public struggles, and engaged in the work of ecclesiastical government, while he ceaselessly longed for peace and solitude. In this sense only should those passages be understood in which Peter calls Hildebrand a tyrant, a kind of Satanic saint, a divine Pope, and the sovereign of that Rome where it was more necessary to obey the master of the Pope than the Pope himself.[5] Notwithstanding, Peter himself struggled with even more vigour and passion than Hildebrand against the horrible

[1] "Ad perennis vitæ fontem
Mens sitivit arida,
Claustra carnis præsto frangi
Clausa quæret anima,
Gliscit, ambit, eluctatur,
Exul frui patria. . . .

"Nam et sancti quique, velut
Sol præclarus, rutilant,
Post triumphum coronati
Mutuo conjubilant,
Et prostrati pugnas hostis
Jam securi numerant."

—*In fine Operum*, p. 785.

[2] "Ut quiescendi municipium veterano et emerito militi permittatur imploro."—Lib. i. ep. 9.

[3] "Ad mortem usque strenue decernavit," says the Roman breviary for February 23. Leo XII. rendered his worship obligatory by giving him the title of Doctor of the Church.

[4] "Immobili columnæ sedis Apostolicæ."—Ep. ii. 9.

[5] Lib. i. ep. 10, aliter opusc. xx. c. i.: "Sed hic forte blandus ille condoluit: qui me colaphizando demulsit, qui me aquilino ungue palpavit,

disorders of the Italian clergy.[1] The unison of their views and their efforts was complete; and Damian, in writing to his illustrious friend, might well render to him the curious testimony which follows:—

"In all thy combats, in all thy victories, I have followed thee closely not only as a companion in arms or a squire, but like a thunderbolt of war. Thy will has had for me the authority of canon law; I have judged, not according to my impressions, but according to thy desires. . . . Moreover, with what blessings have my lips always pronounced thy name! Ask of the lord of Cluny" (that is, of Abbot Hugh). "One day, disputing with him about thee, 'He does not know,' said he, 'with what tenderness thou lovest him; if he knew it, his heart would glow for thee with a love beyond compare.'"[2]

The horror which simony and the incontinence of priests then inspired in pure and fervent souls, led to the peopling of new monasteries in Italy. And among the number of the solitaries who followed the direction of St. Peter Damian at Fonte Avellana, in the mountains of Umbria,

querulus erumpet in vocem. . . . Sed hoc sancto satanæ meo respondeo," &c.—P. 580, edit. 1623.

And in his poetry—

"Vivere vis Romæ, clara depromito voce:
Plus domino papæ quam domno pareo papæ."

And in another passage—

"Papam rite colo, sed te prostratus adoro:
Tu facis hunc Dominum, te facit iste Deum."

[1] See what we have said above of the *Liber Gomorrhianus* of St. Peter Damian.

[2] "Tuis cœptis tuisque conatibus semper obtemperare contendi, et in omnibus tuis certaminibus atque victoriis, ego me non commilitonem sive pedissequum, sed quasi fulmen injeci. . . . Tibi scilicet non aliam auctoritatem canonum, nisi solum tuæ voluntatis sequebar arbitrium, et mera tua voluntas mihi canonum erat auctoritas. Nec unquam judicavi quod visum est mihi, sed quod placuit tibi. . . . Saltem domnum Cluniacensem qui tibi non ignoturus, inquire. . . . Nescit, inquit ille, tantam tibi sui amoris inesse dulcedinem, quam profecto si nosces, incomparabili penes te amore flagrares."—Lib. ii. ep. 8.

was a penitent whom the Church honours under the name of St. Dominic with the Cuirass.[1] Dominic embraced monastic life in order to expiate the fault of his parents, who had bought his ordination by the gift of some beautiful fur.[2] The recollection of this fault so weighed upon the conscience of the man of God, that he never consented to receive the priesthood.[3] But, in compensation, he imposed upon himself the most terrible penances, always wore upon his breast a sort of iron breastplate, and condemned himself to long and frequent flagellations, the history of which elicited the admiration and redoubled the fervour of his contemporaries. St. Peter Damian, who has handed down to us the life of St. Dominic with the Cuirass,[4] proclaimed him his master, recognising him as a true philosopher of the school of Christ,[5] and, after the saint's death, wept for him as for *the light of his life*.[6]

Hildebrand did not suffer himself to be absorbed by his direct participation in the struggles of the papacy: even while filling the office of legate, in which capacity he astonished France and Germany by an admirable learning and eloquence,[7] he never lost sight of his duties as monk

[1] *Loricatus.* He died in 1062.

[2] "Hircinæ pellis aluta. . . . Hoc pavore perterritus, contempsit sæculum, induit monachum, arduumque mox eremiticæ vitæ, tanquam bellator intrepidus, arripuit institutum."—S. PETR. DAMIANI, *De Vit. S. Dominici*, c. 6.

[3] "Quia male promotus est, donec advixit sacrosancti altaris usurpare ministerium non præsumpsit."—*Ibid.*

[4] In *Oper.*, pp. 358–63, ed. 1623, fol., and *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix.

[5] "Dignatus est vir sanctus mihi misero, et indigno . . . sicut abbati monachum subjugare. . . . Quem . . . gaudeo me in schola Christi vere philosophum percepisse doctorem."—*Ibid.*, c. 7.

[6] St. Peter was warned in a dream that he was about to become blind. He consulted his friend Hildebrand on the subject, and the latter replied: "Familiaris tibi aliquis extinguetur, qui tibi et charus sit sicut oculus et lumen tuum et splendor in bonis operibus videatur." Three days afterwards Peter heard of the death of his beloved Dominic.—*Ibid.*, c. 13.

[7] "Aderat ibi" (*to Merseburg, at Christmas* 1057), "inter alios regni principes etiam Hildibrant abbas de S. Paulo, mandata deferens a sede apostolica vir, et eloquentia et sacrarum litterarum eruditione valde admirandus."—CAMB. ASCHAF., ann. 1059.

and Abbot of San Paolo at Rome. He introduced the strictest reform into his abbey, which had fallen into such a state of disorder, that cattle freely entered the church, and women waited on the monks in the refectory.[1]

Hildebrand, whose power daily increased, had just gone as legate to the empress-regent, when death surprised Pope Stephen X.[2] A few days before his end, the venerable pontiff, having convoked the cardinals and Roman clergy, said to them, sadly, "I know that after my death there will arise among you men full of themselves, who will seek to take possession of this See by the aid of laymen, and in opposition to the decrees of the holy fathers." All with one voice protested, and promised the Pope that it should not be so. Shortly afterwards Stephen died in the arms of Abbot Hugh of Cluny, begging the Romans not to appoint his successor till Hildebrand should return.[3]

Notwithstanding this, the tyrannical faction of the Counts of Tusculum roused itself to a new effort, and in spite of the efforts of Peter Damian, succeeded in placing an intruder of that family, Benedict X., on the pontifical throne. If this candidate had been able to maintain himself, the papacy would only have escaped the imperial yoke to become the prey of the Roman aristocracy by an impulse similar though opposite to that which, under the Othos and Henry III., had snatched the Church from patrician violence, only to subject it to the policy of the emperors. Hildebrand could consent neither to the one nor to the other of these ignominies; but he took advantage of one against the other on this occasion, by employing for the last time the imperial authority against that of the barons. On the news of the death of Stephen X. he came back to Italy; but pausing in Tuscany, he strengthened himself by the support on one side of the Regent Agnes and the German nobles, and on the other of the Roman orthodox party, and thus obtained, at

[1] PAUL BERNRIED, *Vit. St. Greg. VII.*, c. 1.

[2] March 29, 1058.

[3] LEO OSTIENS, b. ii. c. 100.

Sienna, the election of Gerard of Burgundy, Bishop of Florence, under the name of Nicholas II. The intruder could not resist this double influence; he returned into obscurity, and the Church was for ever delivered from the mischievous influence of that house of Tusculum whence so many unworthy or indifferent popes had issued.[1]

Under the pontificate of Nicholas II. the authority of Hildebrand continued to increase.[2] He profited by it to consecrate solemnly the results already obtained, and that by a measure the wisdom of which has been proved by the experience of seven centuries. A council of 113 bishops, held at Rome,[3] renewed the former condemnation against simoniacal and married priests; and to free the Church, the mother and mistress of Christendom, from this gnawing evil,[4] the council ordained that in future the election of the Roman pontiff should be exclusively confined to the cardinals, save in so far as respect was due to the future Emperor Henry, and to those of his successors who should have personally obtained from the Holy See the right of intervention.[5] This *respect* was, indeed, very different from

[1] "Florentiæ substitit, suisque litteris super hoc Romanorum meliores conveniens, eorumque omnium consensum recipiens. . . . Geraudum Florentinum episcopum in Romanum papam elegit."—LEO OST., iii. c. 13. "In quem et Romanorum et Teutonicorum studia consenserant."—LAMBERT. SCHAFNAB., ann. 1059.

[2] This is shown by the coarse invectives of Bishop Benzon, who addresses himself as much to the orthodox popes as to their first minister Hildebrand: "Tempore quidem Nicolai quem velut asinum pascebat in stabulo . . . postremo jurejurando ligavit illum miserrimum, quod nil ageret, nisi per ejus jussionis verbum."—Ap. MENCK, *Script. germ.*, i. 1006–1063. An authority far more respectable confirms the foundation of these sayings: St. Peter Damian, as we have seen, calls Hildebrand *Dominus papæ*.

[3] April 1059.

[4] "Ne venalitatis morbus subrepat."

[5] "Salvo debito honore et reverentia dilecti filii nostri Henrici, qui in præsentia rerum rex habetur; et futurus imperator, Deo concedente, speratur, sicut jam sibi concessimus: et successoribus illis, qui ab Apostolica Sede personaliter hoc jus impetraverint."—*Concil.* LABB. et COSSERT., ed. COLETTI, vol. xii. p. 50.

the servile and absolute submission which the empire formerly required. Nevertheless, matters were not to rest there.

Among the signatures to the decretal of Nicholas II. figures that of "Hildebrand, monk and subdeacon,"[1] and it is not risking too much to impute to him the responsibility for it. Another decretal of the same council, and not less important, ordered that in the case of any one being raised to the See of Rome without canonical election on the part of the clergy and cardinals, for a sum of money, or by human favour, or by popular or military violence, the person so elected should be considered not apostolic, but apostate;[2] and it should be permitted to the clergy and faithful laity to expel the intruder by anathema or by any other means, and to replace him by the worthiest, even out of Rome, investing him with full apostolic authority to govern the Church, even before he could be enthroned.[3] Thus it appears that there was no longer question of imperial sanction in this second decretal, in which the Pope and the fathers of the council seem to have intended, by a prophetic instinct, to oppose beforehand all the efforts of the simoniacal, married, or imperialist

[1] "Hildebrandus, monachus et subdiaconus." The signatures of all the fathers of this council were existing on a manuscript copy of this constitution at the Vatican in the time of Father Labbe.—*Concil.*, vol. c. p. 57.

[2] "Si quis pecunia, vel gratia humana, vel populari, seu militari tumultu, sine concordi et canonica electione et benedictione cardinalium episcoporum ac deinde sequentium ordinum religiosorum clericorum fuerit inthronizatus; non papa nec apostolicus, sed apostaticus habeatur, liceatque cardinal. episc. cum religiosis et Deum timentibus clericis et laicis, invasorem, etiam cum anathemate et humano auxilio et studio a Sede Apostolica repellere."

[3] "Nostra auctoritate apostolica extra urbem congregati . . . eligant quem digniorem et utiliorem Ap. Sedi perspexerint, concessa ei auctoritate regendi et disponendi res ad utilitatem S. R. E., secundum quod ei melius videbitur, juxta qualitatem temporis, quasi omnino inthronizatus sit."—*Concil.*, COLETTI, vol. xii. p. 46. Cf. BONIZO, *Lib. ad amic.*, pp. 806, 807. A similar clause, though less explicit, is found in the decree which reserves the election to cardinals.—*Ibid.*, 50. There are good reflections on this point in ALZOG, *Universal History of the Church*, translated by MM. Goschler and Audley, vol. ii. p. 165.

clergy to choose popes to suit themselves, as they did in the schismatic elections of the anti-popes Cadalous and Guibert of Ravenna.

In the same council, the rule of canons and canonesses, although it had been in existence almost everywhere for more than two hundred years, was abolished on the proposition of Hildebrand,[1] because, since the changes introduced under the Emperor Louis the Debonnair at the Council of 817, that rule authorised individual property. Louis himself was blamed, in the decree of the council, for having changed an ecclesiastical institution without the consent of the Holy See, because, emperor and pious though he was, he was none the less a layman.[2]

The imperial party, which had many adherents among the simoniacal bishops, could not but be irritated by a decree which reserved the election of the Pope to the cardinals alone: they considered as an innovation that law which their adversaries, and the whole Monastic Order, considered as a necessary and happy return to the regular conditions of the free government of the Catholic Church.

Meantime it was necessary to find means to maintain

[1] Space has failed us to give an account of all the phases through which the institution of regular canons passed after its foundation by Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, in 730. We have said that Louis the Debonnair had already been obliged to reform it in 816. It will suffice to show that all attempts to reconcile the life of a community with the enjoyment of individual revenues, authorised by the rule of Chrodegang, had successively failed. One of three things always happened,—either the canons of cathedrals or collegiate churches, who had adopted the rule of Chrodegang, let it fall into disuse, and became *regulars;* or they were replaced by monks; or they were obliged to acknowledge the principle of evangelical piety and the community of goods. This is what happened in the abbeys of regular canons founded or reformed in the eleventh century, after the Council of Rome, in 1075, and which were only distinguished from Benedictine abbeys by some unimportant differences.

[2] "Nec Ludovicus mutare qualibet ratione debuit aut potuit sine auctoritate et consensu S. Romanæ et apostolicæ Sedis: quia quamvis imperator et devotus, tamen erat laicus."—Decret. ap. Gorch.; REICHERSPERG. in BALLUZ., *Miscell.*, vol. v. 123; and MABILL., *Annal.*, b. lxi. No. 34.

the new work, which every day caused more disquiet to the partisans and instruments of the old abuses. Hildebrand perceived that very efficient support against imperial enmity might be given to the liberated papacy by those warlike Normans whose exploits against the Saracens and Greek schismatics were constantly increasing their renown and their power in the south of Italy. He had seen them faithfully keep the promise of submission which they had made to Pope Leo IX., their prisoner at Civitella; and for this reason he had advised Nicholas II. to make advances to them, and to invest their chief, Robert Guiscard, with the title of Duke of Apulia, in return for an annual tribute, and for his oath to support the papacy against all enemies, to submit to it all the churches given up to him, and to assist in defending the free election of all future popes.[1] William de Montreuil, sprung from the generous race of Giroie, of whose pious liberality to the Norman abbeys we have already spoken, was proclaimed gonfaloniere of the Holy See, and by his exertions all the schismatics of Campania were brought under subjection to the pontifical authority.[2] Nicholas also used the arm of this champion to extirpate simony and the concubinage of priests in the south of Italy.[3] The aged pontiff well deserved, by his pious humility, that his efforts should draw down the blessing of Heaven. Each day he himself washed the feet of

[1] "Ego Robertus Dei gratia et Sancti Petri Dux Apuliæ . . . ero fidelis Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ . . . S. R. E. ubique adjutor ero ad tenendum et ad acquirendum regalia S. Petri, ejusque possessiones pro meo posse, contra omnes homines . . . omnes quoque ecclesias quæ in mea persistunt dominatione cum earum possessionibus dimittam in tua potestate . . . secundum quod monitus fuero a melioribus cardinalibus, clericis Romanis et laicis, adjuvabo ut papa eligatur et retinatur ad honorem S. Petri."—BARON., *Ann.*, ad ann. 1059.

[2] ORDER. VITAL., b. iii. pp. 56, 87, ed. Leprévost. Cf. *Chron. de Robert Viscar*, b. i. c. 2, ed. Champollion.

[3] "Per eos citissime Romanam urbem a Capitaneorum tyrannide liberavit."—BONIZO, 806. Cf. GUILL. APULL., ap. MURAT., *Script.*, vol. v. p. 252.

twelve poor men; and this soft and gentle charity in no way excluded firmness—for at his death, after a pontificate of two years, he left to the Church, together with the memory of his rare virtues, stronger means of defence than she had ever hitherto possessed.[1]

Each new election to the papacy brought with it a dangerous crisis, such as must have compromised and destroyed the work of Hildebrand if his constancy had been less energetic and the protection of Heaven less uniform. It happened, on the contrary, that each election contributed either to root his authority more firmly or to augment his power.

On the death of Nicholas II., the cardinals, carrying out the decrees of the last council, sent a report of their proceedings to the imperial court; but Gerard, a monk of Cluny, whom they had sent with it, not having been received, they went on to the election, according to the advice of Hildebrand and of the Abbot Didier of Monte Cassino. Their choice fell upon one in whom they hoped to find not only the person most agreeable to the imperial court, but one who, at the same time, offered most substantial guarantees to the Church; they proclaimed Anselm of Badagio, Bishop of Lucca, of an illustrious Milanese house, and formerly a disciple of Lanfranc at the Norman Abbey of Bec.[2] Anselm had distinguished himself as legate in Lombardy by his zeal against the simoniacs and Nicolaitans; afterwards he reigned twelve years, under the name of Alexander II.[3]

The Lombard bishops—those indomitable bulls, as a

[1] HÖFLER, *Deutsche Päbste*, 358, 360. It is pleasant to see across the centuries how not only doctrine and power, but mind also, have remained identical in the sovereign Pontiffs. Leo XII., who died in 1829, made twelve poor men dine daily at the Vatican, from the day of his accession to that of his death, and often went to wait on them himself.—ARTAUD, *Hist. de Léon XII.*, b. 338.

[2] *Life of Alex. II.*, in *Concil.*, LABBE, ed. Venet., xii. 69. He was a Milanese noble, named Anselm of Badagio.

[3] October 1, 1061.

contemporary calls them—always the most in favour of simony, always most hostile to the independence of Rome, had made up their minds to accept as Pope only one of their own countrymen, who would naturally bear with their infirmities;[1] but their efforts failed. In vain did they persuade the Regent Agnes and her counsellor to consent to the election of an anti-Pope in the person of Cadalous,[2] Chancellor of Henry III., whose scandalous life offered all possible encouragement to the cause of the simoniacal and anti-celibate party; in vain did this anti-Pope secure for himself the support of Germany and of the Italian imperialists, and the alliance of the Cæsar of Constantinople;[3] in vain did he obtain the approval of the majority of German bishops, and that of the married priests:[4] the Church was already strong enough to resist and vanquish, even by arms. Guided by Hildebrand, whom, on his accession, he had named Chancellor of the Holy Church; supported by Monte Cassino, by Cluny, and by the sword of the Normans,—Alexander carried the day, and won the right of being remembered by posterity as the Pope to whom the Church, so long enslaved, owed the reconquest of her ancient freedom.[5] The wise and holy Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, after having deprived the Regent Agnes and her unworthy favourite, Adalbert, Archbishop of Bremen, of the administration of the empire, declared himself, at the Council

[1] "Cervicosos tauros. . . . Deliberavit non aliunde se habere papam nisi ex Paradiso Italiæ, talemque, qui sciat compati infirmitatibus eorum." —BONIZO, p. 807.

[2] At Bâle, October 28, 1061.

[3] BENZO, *Panegyr.*, ii. c. 14; STENTZEL, i. 210.

[4] "Clerici uxorati . . . amodo vocentur et Cadaloitæ. Sperant enim quia si Cadalous, qui ad hoc gehennaliter æstuat, universali Ecclesiæ Antichristi viæ præsederit, ad eorum votum, luxuriæ fræna laxabit."—S. PETRI DAM., *Opusc.*, xviii. diss. 2, c. 8. "Tunc simoniaci cælabantur, concubinati vero sacerdotes ingenti exultabant tripudio."—BONIZO, p. 807.

[5] "Ecclesiam jamdiu ancillatam in pristinam reduxit libertatem."— OTTO FRISING., vi. 34.

of Augsburg, in favour of the legitimate Pope, moved to do so by the skilful pleading of Peter Damian[1]—justly called by Alexander II. "the eye of the papacy, and the unshaken support of the apostolic throne."[2]

In all regions, Catholic sentiment awoke; the number of the faithful increased, and their zeal was more and more excited against the simoniacal and married clergy.[3] This was the special work of monks. Everywhere and always, we repeat, these admirable auxiliaries, with the approval of Hildebrand and of Peter Damian, flung themselves, with equal energy and devotion, into the struggle which was to save the liberty and purity of the Church. They clearly perceived that this cause was inseparable from that of the holiness and durability of their own institution.

It was the monks of the new order of Vallombrosa, having St. John Gualbertus at their head, who curbed the power of simony in Tuscany, by the opposition which they raised to the simoniacal bishop Peter of Pavia. The monks of the same order at Florence had been attacked in the night by armed servants of the bishop, beaten, robbed, wounded, and mutilated. Accused at Rome, blamed by St. Peter Damianus himself, fiercely persecuted by the episcopate, menaced with death by Duke Godfrey of Tuscany, they found no supporter except Hildebrand.[4] But they did not hesitate to continue the struggle; and they ended it victoriously, thanks to the devotion of one of them, Peter,

[1] See the discussion between him and a "regius advocatus" at this council.—Ap. LABBE, ann. 1062, vol. xii. Stentzel rightly translates the Latin *Osbor* by Augsbourg, i. 230.

[2] "Qui nimirum noster est oculus apostolicæ sedis immobile firmamentum."—*Epist.* ALEX. II., *ad Serv., arch. Remens.*

[3] "Interea crescebat non solum per Italiam, sed et per omnes Gallias numerus fidelium. Simoniaci de die in diem propalabantur sacerdotes."—BONIZO, p. 807.

[4] At the Council of Rome, 1063. "Pars maxima Episcoporum Petro favebat, et omnes pene monachis erant adversi: sed archidiaconus Ildeprandus monachorum in omnibus auditor et defensor factus est."—*Vit. S. Joann. Gualb.*, c. 61, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix.

who submitted to the ordeal by fire, passing across a pile of blazing wood, in order to prove the guilt of the bishop.[1] The Florentine people were convinced; the deposed bishop was converted, and, turning back with laudable penitence to the better way, became a monk at Vallombrosa, among those who had prosecuted him with such eagerness; while the heroic Peter became Bishop of Albano, and cardinal, under the immortal name of St. Peter Igneus. We cannot, then, be astonished at the special favour with which Alexander II. always regarded the monks. The generous pontiff, even while his own rights were being contested at Rome, was heroically defending the privileges of Corbie against the Bishop of Amiens; those of St. Denis against the Bishop of Paris;[2] those of St. Michael of Chiusa against the Bishop of Turin;[3] and in the same year he exempted the Abbey of the Trinity at Vendome from all episcopal jurisdiction, at the prayer of the diocesan bishop himself.[4] It was Alexander II. who put a final stop to the incessant persecution of Cluny[5] by the Bishop of Macon, and who declared that sanctuary beyond all episcopal interdiction or excommunication, so that it might be, for all people, and

[1] *S. Joann. Gualb., ubi supra.* [2] In 1062.

[3] The Archdeacon Hildebrand especially was useful to the Abbot of Chiusa during this struggle. In full council, he reprimanded the bishop in these words: "Quid est, episcope, quid loqueris? ubi est sapientia tua! Tuum ne dicis Abbatem, tuique solius fore juris? qua auctoritate, quæso, aut qua ratione tuum asseris? Num possessio tua aut servus tuus est? Itane sacri canones animo exciderunt tuo," &c. And as the bishop refused to recognise Abbot Benedict, who was elected without his consent, the Pope blessed and consecrated him himself.—*Vita V. Bened., Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 700.

[4] "Ne cujusquam episcopi interdicto aut communicationi subjacerent . . . ut idem locus omnibus ad se ad salutem animæ confugientibus, sit misericordiæ sinus, sit totius pietatis et salutis portus: obtineatque in eo locum justus, nec repellatur pœnitere volens iniquus."—*Bibl. Cluniac.*, pp. 507–511; MABILL., *Annal.*, b. lxii. No. 12. At the Council of Châlons, held for this purpose by St. Peter Damianus, legate of Alexander, the Bishop of Macon swore that in future he would respect the liberties of Cluny, and did penance for seven days on bread and water.—*Ibid.*

[5] In 1066.

under all circumstances, a haven of salvation and mercy.[1] The holy father also extended to all the abbeys dependent upon Monte Cassino the great exemptions enjoyed by that illustrious monastery, and secured its immunities and vast possessions against episcopal attacks, by replacing them under what was called the "tutelar freedom of Rome."[2] In 1071, Nicholas himself dedicated the mother church of Monte Cassino, recently built with great magnificence by the care of Abbot Didier, at the same time that the Abbot Hugh was raising at Cluny the greatest church of Christendom. The Pope himself celebrated this imposing ceremony, assisted by Hildebrand, in presence of fifty-four archbishops and bishops, many Norman and Italian nobles, and an immense population which covered the sides of the holy mountain and the surrounding meadows.[3] All this crowd was fed and lodged by the splendid generosity of the great monastery, to which the Pope, in a bull relative to this dedication, gave the title of "normal school of monastic rule, founded by the holy father Benedict, in virtue, not of a human desire, but of an express command of God."[4]

[1] "Contra quam auctoritatem qui Hildebrandus Capuenus archiepiscopus submurmurare præsumpsit, coram nobis . . . se peccasse confessus est. Unde tam sibi, quam suis successoribus Apostolica auctoritate sub distincti anathematis vinculo interdicimus, ut nullam ulterius inde audeant assumere quæstionem vel contra præfatum venerabilem locum litem permovere," &c.—Bull of May 10, 1067.

[2] "Sub tutela et Romana libertate."—*Ibid.*

[3] S. Leo., mart.—*Chron. Cassin.*, b. iii. c. 30. Monte Cassino, under the excellent administration of Abbot Didier, of the princely house of Benevento, had regained its ancient prosperity. It was in this same year, 1071, that, at the prayer of Barisenus, King of Sardinia, Didier sent monks to found six abbeys in that island. It must be said that this holy house, the constant and useful ally of the papacy, knew how to defend its own rights and electoral liberty, even against the papacy, when the latter threatened to attack them; this was what happened in 1056, when Victor II. wished to reform the election of Abbot Peter.—LEO, *Chron. Cassin.*, b. ii. c. 95.

[4] "Quod monasticæ normæ constat esse principale gymnasium . . . non studio hominum, sed Dei imperio, a sanctissime Patre Benedicto constructum."—Bull of Oct. 10, 1071. This bull, and the one quoted in note

This professed admiration for monastic greatness naturally united itself in the mind of Alexander II., as well as in that of Hildebrand, to a scrupulous respect for the rights of the Roman Church. For this reason it was that, after the conquest of England, Lanfranc, the first Norman placed in the archbishopric of Canterbury, was summoned by Hildebrand to come to receive the pallium at Rome, according to an old custom, which, since 1027, had fallen into disuse. Lanfranc hastened to obey; and on seeing him approach, the Pope rose to do him honour, saying, "It is not because he is an archbishop that I rise, but because at the Abbey of Bec I sat at his feet with the other scholars."[1]

Meanwhile Germany had become the centre of encroachment against the temporal power. The freedom and the rule of the monasteries, as well as the rights and privileges of laymen, had been scandalously trampled under foot during the administration of Archbishop Adalbert of Bremen. But still greater evils followed the majority of the young Henry IV., who was early given up to all kinds of excesses. The last act of the long career of Peter Damianus as apostolic legate, was to bring about a temporary reconciliation between Henry and his wife Bertha, whom he wished to repudiate without any other reason than an invincible dislike. Peter declared plainly to the young king that the Pope would never consent to give the imperial crown to a prince who should have caused so grave a scandal.[2] Here,

1, p. 287, unpublished till 1842, have been found in the archives of Monte Cassino, and published by Dom Luigi TOSTI in his history of this abbey. They both bear the signature of Hildebrand, written thus: "Ego Hildebrandus qualis cumque Rom. Ecclesiæ Archidiac., SS." The facsimile of this august signature, as well as those of St. Peter Damianus and of Abbot Didier, has been given by Dom Tosti, vol. i. p. 410.

[1] "Non ideo assurexi ei, quia archiepiscopus Cantuariæ est, sed quia Becci ad scholam ejus fui: et ad pedes ejus cum aliis auditor consedi."—GISLEBERT, *Vit. S. Lanfranc.*, ed. d'Acher., c. 11.

[2] LAMBERT, ann. 1069. Peter died in 1072 at Faenza, persevering to the end in the practice of the most extraordinary austerities, after having reconciled the inhabitants of Ravenna with the Holy See.

as always, and in all countries, the rupture between the Church and royalty had for its origin, or at least for its occasion, the protection extended by the Holy See over the rights of an innocent and undeservedly persecuted woman. But this was not the only complaint of the Church and the Germans against Henry IV. In agreement with Sigefroi, Archbishop of Mayence, this prince attempted to exact the *dîme* from Thuringia and the possessions of the Abbeys of Fulda and Hersfeld, in contempt of privileges which dated from the introduction of Christianity into Germany. The Thuringians, whose interests were in unison with those of their monks, at first tried to resist, but underwent the most cruel oppression. The Saxons, on their side pillaged, harassed, and outraged in the honour of their women by the garrisons of castles built by order of the young king, revolted against a yoke until then unknown, and resolved to break it. The most powerful princes of the empire, such as the Dukes of Bavaria and Carinthia, were themselves the object of calumnious accusations, driven to extremity, and deprived of their fiefs, according to the caprice of the king. The complaints and indignation of the German people redoubled in violence,[1] and Henry IV. had occasion to congratulate himself that he had taken the precaution of forbidding the Thuringians, under pain of death, to appeal to Rome.[2] But it was not easy to silence the voice of oppressed justice. Alexander II. heard this cry, and felt himself strong enough to act; he excommunicated the perfidious councillors who abused the youth of Henry IV., and summoned the prince to appear before him. But God called the Pope from this world before the war had broken out with its full violence. Alexander II. was permitted to die without fear of seeing the degeneration of the work he had so nobly begun. His obsequies were not yet ended when the unanimous voice of the Roman clergy and people called

[1] LAMBERT, ad ann. 1072–73, *et passim*.

[2] LAMBERT, ad ann. 1073, ap. PERTZ, v. p. 193.

Pope Gregory VII. to crown the enterprise of Hildebrand the monk. He had, it must be remembered, more than once refused the papacy;[1] he strongly desired to leave to others the honour of command, while he shared in the second rank the responsibility of the struggle. But God and the Roman people judged otherwise. While Hildebrand presided at the solemn funeral of the dead pontiff, a unanimous and irresistible movement began among the clergy and the faithful, who, with one voice, declared that he was the Pope they desired. Surprised and alarmed by these popular clamours, Hildebrand tried to mount a pulpit to calm the tumult, and dissuade the multitude from its resolution; but he was forestalled by a cardinal,[2] who spoke thus: "You know, brethren, that since the time of Pope Leo it is Hildebrand who has exalted the Roman Church and delivered the city. Now, as we cannot find a better, nor even so good a candidate, let us choose unanimously, as Pope, him who has been ordained in our Church, and all whose actions we know and approve."[3]

Immediately loud acclamations echoed through the Lateran church, and they shouted, "St. Peter has elected Lord Gregory Pope!"

[1] A testimony beyond suspicion—that of Thierry, Bishop of Verdun, one of the vehement supporters of the imperialist schism—tells us that Hildebrand had been several times called to the papacy, but had saved himself by flight: "Decentibus patribus sæpe electum et accitum, semper quidem animi, aliquando etiam corporis fuga dignitatis locum declinasse." —*Thesaur. Anecd.*, vol. i. p. 218. We shall see, further on, a very curious extract from the important letter of Thierry.

[2] Hugh, surnamed the White (*Candidus* or *Blancus*), a very equivocal personage. It must be remarked that Gregory deprived him of his charge some time after—"propter ineptiam et ejus mores inconditos."—LAMB. SCHAFNAB., ann. 1074, ap. PERTZ, v. 242. See curious details about him in BONIZO, *Lib. ad amic.*, pp. 807, 809, 810.

[3] "Viri fratres, vos scitis quia a diebus Domini Leonis papæ hic est Hildebrandus, qui sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam exaltavit et civitatem istam liberavit. Quapropter quis ad Pontificatum Romanum neque meliorem neque talem, qua eligatur, habere possumus. . . ."—BONIZO, *Lib. ad amic.*, p. 811.

Crowned and enthroned in spite of his tears and lamentations,[1] Hildebrand for some time hoped to escape from the burden he dreaded.[2] In fact, the young King of Germany, the future Emperor Henry IV., had not been in any way consulted as to this election, which the corrupt bishops of his kingdom desired to see annulled, representing to the prince the dangers which menaced him from a man of Hildebrand's character.[3]

[1] "In Lateranensi Ecclesia . . . dum Hildebrandus archidiaconus esset in ejus exsequiis occupatus, repente factus est in ipsa Ecclesia maximus cleri et populi Romani concursus clamantium et dicentium. . . . Nimis expavit, et quasi extra se raptus cucurrit ad pulpitum, cupiens populum ipsum sedare. . . . Sed Hugo candidus cardinalis, ubi omnium vota in Archidiaconum convenisse indubitanter cognovit, citius præcucurrit . . . nos Episcopi cardinales unanimiter ipsum . . . eligimus. . . . Et continuo universitate Populi et Cleri acclamante, *Dominum Gregorium papam S. Petrus elegit;* indutus rubea chlamyde . . . et papali mitra insignitus, invitus et mœrens in B. Petri cathedra fuit intronizatus."—*Acta Vaticana*, ap. BARON., *Ann.*, ann. 1073, and GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 13. "Concursus clericorum virorum ac mulierum clamantium: Hildebrandus episcopus." —BONIZO. "Dum sanctissimus Gregorius . . . voto communi clericorum et laicorum diu renitens esset electus."—*Vit. S. Anselm. Lucens.*, c. 2, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. According to another version, Gregory hid himself for several days near the church of San Pietro in Vincula: "Sed tandem vix inventus ad apostolicam sedem vi perductus . . . ordinatur."—BERTHOLD. CONSTANS, *Chron.*, ann. 1073, ap. USSERMANN, vol. ii. p. 17. "Id culminis captus atque coactus cum magno ejulatu ostendit."—*Epist. Bernaldi ad Bernardum*, ap. USSERM., vol. ii. p. 417, and GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 87. Cf. PAUL BERNRIED, c. 27, and the letters of Gregory himself, b. i. ep. 1, 3, 4, 8, 9. The official account given by Baronius, from the *Acta Vaticana*, places the election at St. John Lateran; while the decree of election given by the cardinals, and also published by Baronius, places it at San Pietro in Vincula: perhaps the sacred college assembled in the latter church to deliberate, even before the popular movement showed itself in St. John Lateran, where the funeral would naturally be celebrated. Bonizo, a contemporary, says expressly that the election took place in St. John Lateran, and that Gregory was carried off and enthroned at St. Peter in Vincula.

[2] "Onus quod mihi invito et valde reluctanti impositum est."—*Regest.* S. GREG. VII., *Ep.* i. 1.

[3] "Asserentes quod nisi impetum hominis prævenire maturaret, malum hoc non in alium gravius quam in ipsum regem redundaturum esset."—LAMB., ann. 1073.

The Pope, on his side, wished to have his consecration deferred until after the acquiescence of the German king and nobles in his election; he even wrote to Henry to beg him to refuse his consent, and to declare to him that, once Pope, he would not leave unpunished the excesses to which the king was abandoning himself.[1] But Henry, content with the kind of deference shown to him by Hildebrand, approved the election of the man who was to destroy for ever his usurped prerogative.[2] It had been, however, long in his power to know and appreciate, with all Christendom, the great man who was to be his opponent. Long since, the eyes of the world had been fixed upon Hildebrand, whom friends and enemies alike recognised as the most energetic representative of the authority of the Holy See and the majesty of Rome. A proof of this may be found in the following lines addressed to the first minister of Alexander II. by Alfano, a monk of Monte Cassino, who afterwards became Archbishop of Salerno. They well express the opinion of the Catholics of the time; and, moreover, they show how, in the minds of the monks, the Christian greatness of the mother and mistress of Churches

[1] "Pertractans . . . quid faceret, non aliud invenit, quam ut regi suam notificaret electionem, et per eum si posset, sibi papale impositum onus devitaret. Nam missis ad eum continuo litteris et mortem papæ notificavit, et suam ei electionem denuntiavit, interminatusque si ejus electioni assensum præbuisset nunquam ejus nequitiam patienter putaturum."—BONIZO, p. 811. "Ne assensum præberet attentius exoravit quod si non faceret, certum sibi esset, quod graviores et manifestos ipsius excessus impunitos nullatenus toleraret."—CARD. ARAGON., ap. MURATORI, *Script.*, vol. iii. b. i. p. 304. This letter is not found in the collection of the Pope's epistles; but the authority of Bonizo is incontestable as to contemporary and Italian facts (see STENTZEL, vol. ii. p. 72). It is also certain that Gregory deferred his consecration for two months, since he heads all his letters from April 21 to June 28, "Gregorius in Romanum Pontificem electus;" and those of June 30 alone bear "Gregorius episcopus servus servorum Dei." Bonizo says expressly that he was ordained priest on the vigil of Pentecost, and consecrated on St. Peter's Day, 1073.

[2] See in Lambert of Aschaffenburg the account of the embassy of Count Eberard of Hellenburg to Rome.

was allied with the brilliant memories of that pagan Rome which only papal Rome could replace and surpass:—

"Thou knowest, Hildebrand, what is the glory reserved for those who devote themselves to the public good. The Sacred Way, the Latin Way, the splendid summit of the Capitol, that throne of empire, all these still exist to be thy teachers.[1] For this cause thou falteredst not before the hardest labour or the most perfidious treachery; thou fearest not the hidden venom of envy, more dangerous than pestilence to good men, and fatal only to them. But that great knowledge of honour and virtue which is thine, has proved to thee that it is better to excite envy than to feel it. Justice is always with thy judgments; the rare energy of thy soul, thy noble life entirely devoted to the pursuit of good, furnish to thy genius both the strength and the weapons she employs.[2] Thanks to thee, Rome is again becoming the queen of cities. Thanks to thee, Rome is again becoming righteous; and barbarism, all proud as she is of her royal genealogies, pauses and trembles before thee. Armed with thy genius and with the flaming sword of the arch-apostle Peter, go forth, and break the strength and violence of the barbarians, and make them feel, to their latest moment, the weight of the ancient yoke.[3] Oh how terrible is the power of the anathema! All that Marius, all that Cæsar, could buy only with the blood of so many soldiers, thou canst gain with a simple word! To whom does Rome owe the greatest debt? to her Scipios and other

[1] "Idem sacra
Et Latina refert via,
Illud et Capitolii
Culmen eximium, Thronus
Pollens imperii, docet."

[2] "Omne judicio tuo
Jus favet. . . .
Cordis eximius vigor
Vita nobilis, optimas
Res secuta, probant quidem
Juris ingenium, modo
Cujus artibus tueris."

[3] "Eas timet
Seva barbaries adhuc,
Clara stemmate regio.
His et archiapostoli
Fervido gladio Petri
Frange robur et impetus
Illius, vetus ut jugum
Usque sentiat ultimum."

heroes, or to thee, whose zeal has reconquered for her her lawful power? Their reward, we are told, for having loaded their country with benefits, is to dwell in everlasting peace in a region of light.[1] But thou, who art far greater than they, thou shalt live in eternal glory, and be for ever ranked with the apostles, thy fellow-citizens."[2]

[1] "Quanto vis anathematis!
Quicquid et Marius prius
Quodque Julius gerant
Maxima nece militum,
Voce tu modica facis.

Roma quod Scipionibus
Cæterisque Quiritibus,
Debuit mage quam tibi?. . .

Tu quidem . . .
. . . manet
Gloriose perenniter
Vita, viribus ut tuis
Compareris Apostolis."

[2] The entire text of the poem, in iambic verse, the sense of which we are not sure of having always understood, has been published by Baronius (*Annal.*, ann. 1061), and by Ughelli in his *Anecdota*, in vol. x. of the *Italia Sacra*. A new version of it has been given by Greselrecht in his Latin Opusculum, called *De litterarum studio apud Italos*, p. 46.

CHAPTER III

CO-OPERATION LENT BY THE MONASTIC ORDERS TO POPE GREGORY VII

The monks, nobles, and peasants defend the Pope.—The townspeople, simoniacal clergy, and excommunicated nobles follow the emperor.—The aid of laymen more useful to the Pope than that of the clergy.—Herlembald, the knight of Christ.—Laymen charged to see the canons obeyed.—Terrible saying of St. Hugh of Cluny.—Only two German bishops dare to publish the papal decrees against married priests.—Philip, King of France, protects those guilty of simony.—Assembly of Brixen.—Letter of the clergy of Cambray to those of Reims.—Only three monasteries take the part of Henry IV.—The Monastic Orders furnish Gregory's most intrepid champions.—The councillors of Gregory VII. chiefly monks.—Absolute confidence placed by Gregory in Hugh of Cluny.—Popular election of Hugh of Burgundy to the see of Die.—Jarenton, abbot of St. Benigne of Dijon.—Three French monks devoted to Gregory VII.—The three monks most dear to Gregory VII. auxiliaries furnished by Monte Cassino.—St. Anselm of Lucca.—Conversion of Archbishop Hanno.—Re-establishment of Hirschau.

NOTHING is more important to the object of this work than to prove the intimate and fundamental union between the destinies of the Monastic Orders and the cause of freedom and reform in the Church. This is why, before describing the events to which those we have already recorded serve as preludes, we think it needful to prove that the family of St. Benedict, whose immense growth had, for five centuries, so powerfully contributed to the greatness and independence of Catholicism, was still, at the period of which we speak, the chosen army of God, and that the monks were almost the only instruments of the vast and wholesome revolution worked by Gregory VII. in the discipline and organisation of the Church.

This truth becomes apparent, indeed, in the general situation of the different orders of the ecclesiastical hierarchy as we have already pictured them; but we have still to prove, by special facts and precise indications, that if the order of St. Benedict had not then existed, the Pope would really not have known what earthly force to invoke to combat the inveterate evils which it was necessary, at any price, to root out.

It was not that Gregory found only adversaries among the clergy, and could count no partisans among the Christian people. Those who then boasted of the exclusive title of *Catholics*, and to whom that title has been confirmed by posterity, were, on the contrary, all devoted to the Pope.[1] In his camp ranged themselves all those who, as he said in his correspondence, "feared the Lord, loved justice, and prized the liberty of the Bride of Christ."[2] We shall see, further on, what political motives, apart from religious sympathies, would draw to his banner the greater part of the German nobility. The country people, who received an impulse from their lords and from the monasteries, seem to have generally pronounced for Gregory, and to have formed that "vulgar herd" whose favour the Emperor Henry IV., in the famous letter which announced to Gregory the sentence of deposition pronounced against him by the Diet of Worms, accused the Pope of having stooped to beg.[3]

[1] "Catholicis viris bene placuit: simoniacis vero et fautoribus regis nimium displicuit."—*Marianus Scotus Chron.*, ann. 1074.

[2] "Omnibus in partibus vestris Dominum timentes ac sponsæ Christi libertatem diligentes."—*Ep.* ix. 3. "Te tuosque omnes socios qui justitiam amatis, et beati Petri sedem diligitis."—*Ep.* vi. 14, to Duke Welf.

[3] "Tibi favorem vulgi comparasti."—BRUNO, *de Bello Saxon.*, c. 67, and *Cod. Udalr. Bab.*, No. 163. We see, however, that even among the peasants there were some who were of the imperialist party, as is proved by the curious story of the countryman who, seeing the Pope's entrance to Salerno, secretly murmured against him, and was punished for it by losing his speech, until Gregory prayed for him: "Adstans quidam rusticus. . . . En auctor præliorum et seditionum; postquam totum commovit orbem, hanc inquietare venit urbem."—PAUL BERNRIED, *in fin.*

Henry, on the other hand, found natural auxiliaries in the populations of the great towns, and, above all, in the episcopal cities, which, equally hostile, by habit and instinct, to the rule of bishops established in their midst, and to that of the feudal nobles of the country round, always showed themselves disposed to support royal despotism. Worms and Cologne, in rebellion against their orthodox bishops, pronounced from the very first for Henry, whose armies were principally formed from the trading class.[1] The Tuscan and Lombard towns, which, in the twelfth century, were to be seen invoking the aid of the papacy after throwing off the imperial yoke, were now almost all devoted to the German sovereign.[2]

Naturally the encroachments of royalty and the relaxed morals of the clergy did not fail to meet the approbation of some laymen. Henry could count among his partisans all the irreligious and profane members of society,—nobles who had been excommunicated for brigandage, and whose just condemnation the king himself had begun by approving; usurpers of Church property, patrons and accomplices of simony throughout the empire: in a word, all those whose passions had been thwarted, whose disorders had been repressed, or who wished, in their rage, to annihilate all spiritual power, and at the same time to destroy, if they could, the unchangeable truth which restrains the inclinations and humbles the pride of fallen human nature.

In proportion, however, as this party was numerous, its moral inferiority was evident, even from the beginning of the struggle, excepting in the case of a small number of nobles, such as Godfrey of Bouillon,[3] who honestly believed that they

[1] "Maxima pars ex mercatoribus erat."—BRUNO, *de Bello Saxon*, p. 213. There were also some free peasants of the Duchy of Franconia; at least this is how Stentzel (i. 440) translates the *comprovinciales rusticos* of whom Bemold speaks.

[2] Milan, above all, which was later the centre of resistance.

[3] The pillar of the first crusade. He had received as a fief the marquisate of Antwerp, on the death of his uncle, Godfrey Duke of Lower

were fulfilling a feudal duty by remaining faithful to their suzerain, although excommunicated. The practice of Christian virtues, the enthusiasm of faith and charity, then so powerful in all classes of Catholic society, had almost disappeared from the imperial camp: yet many contemporary historians have defended this party;[1] it has found, even among bishops and clergy, up to our own day, numerous apologists; but in their narratives we shall seek in vain for one trait of that generous courage, of that humble piety, or that magnanimous unselfishness which brighten every page of the story of their adversaries.

Laymen of pure and elevated character, on the contrary, were to be found in the party of Gregory. Among these laymen he generally found more valuable resources than among the clergy; and he himself acknowledged this fact in a letter to a certain Count Adalbert and his wife, where he thanks God that simple believers, and even women, devote themselves to the defence of religion, while bishops shamefully subvert the law of God.[2]

In the first rank of the lay supporters of the Pope, men and women, we find Beatrice Countess of Tuscany, and above all her daughter, the immortal Matilda, whose affection was Gregory's greatest earthly consolation—Matilda, who lived in the sight of God like a nun, and in the sight of men like

Lorraine, and husband of the Grand-Countess Matilda, but almost entirely separated from her, who was, till his death in 1076, one of the principal supporters of Henry IV. It was supposed to be by the hand of Godfrey that King Rodolph received his mortal wound at the battle of the Elster: but, apart from this circumstance, he does not appear in the later portion of the struggle; and the good understanding which reigned between the Pope and him at the time of the first crusade shows that his devotion to the emperor must have been considerably modified.

[1] See the collection entitled, *Apologiæ pro Henrico IV.*, published by Goldast in 1611.

[2] "Gratias Deo referimus quod vel laici et mulieres ad Dominum mentes erigunt, et cultum religionis . . . tenere contendunt. Nam et illi qui propter lucrandas animas episcopi vocati et constituti sunt . . . his temporibus seducti a diabolo non solum verbum Dei deserunt, sed impugnare et omni conatu subvertere non desistunt."—*Epist.* II. ii.

a knight;[1] and who, borrowing the words of the apostle, declared to Gregory that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor hunger, nor peril, nor persecution, nor the sword, nor death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor the present, nor the future, should ever separate her from the love of Peter.[2] We know how the heroine kept her word.

By their side a place may well be given to Herlembald, a Milanese noble, who, in the pontificate of Alexander II., had directed, in concert with the deacon Ariald, the resistance offered by the Lombard Catholics to the Nicolaitans[3] and simoniacal priests. Herlembald brought to the service of his cause remarkable eloquence, undaunted courage, and indefatigable activity.[4] To keep himself humble during the contest, he took pleasure in washing the feet of the poor, and after having wiped them, would kiss them and place them on his head while he prostrated himself. The eloquent letters of Gregory to his friend bore this inscription—"To Herlembald, the intrepid soldier of Christ."[5] The knight justified this title by dying a martyr to purity and devotion —"killed," says his epitaph, "by the hands of the slaves of Venus and of Simon Magus."[6] The Catholic world, watching the combat, wept for the Christian hero; his death spread consternation among the friends of the Church, even

[1] "Quæ spiritualis et religiosissima in occulto, secularem aut, ut verius dicam, militarem agebat vitam in manifesto."—*Vit. S. Anselm. Lucen.*, c. b. Cf. HUG. FLAV., p. 228.

[2] "Quod non tribulatio, &c. . . . poterat eam separare a caritate Petri. . . ."—ROM., c. viii.; BARON., *Ann.*, ad. ann. 1074, No. 10.

[3] This was the name given to the advocates of clerical marriage.

[4] "Ipse orator facundissimus et sub habitu seculari athleta Dei solertissimus, &c. . . ."—BERTHOLDI, *Ann.*, 1077, ap. PERTZ, v. p. 2. Cf. BONIZO, *Lib. ad amic.*, pp. 809, 810.

[5] "Strennissimo Christi militi."—Lib. i., *Ep.* 25, 26.

[6] He was killed in 1075. These verses were inscribed on his tomb—

"Hic Herlembaldus miles Christi reverendus
Occisus tegitur: qui cœlesti sede potitur:
Incestus reprobat, simonias et quare (?) damnat,
Hunc Veneris servi perimunt Simonisque maligni. . . ."

in distant England.[1] Urban II. canonised Herlembald.[2] His successor, as head of the Catholic party in Lombardy, was another knight, named Wifred, whose perseverance and courage Gregory delighted to praise.[3]

Even at Rome laymen showed devotion and sympathy for the Pope, while he was abandoned by a great number of the cardinals and of the clergy who held the principal offices in the pontifical court.[4] Both complained bitterly of his excessive severity in repressing abuses. But many chiefs of the Roman nobility, while Gregory was besieged in the Castle of St. Angelo by Henry IV., remained inviolably faithful[5] to the Holy Father amidst the general defection of the people. In this they followed the example set by Censius, Prefect of Rome, the unwearied adversary of the schism. Gregory had prevented this devoted friend from embracing a religious life, in order that in his high office he might continue to defend justice and the freedom of the Church; and he had been obedient as a duty: but while

[1] "Non solum Romæ, sed usque ad Britannicum mare omnes Catholici contristati sunt, flentesque dicebant."—BONIZO, p. 813. There were miracles worked at the tomb of Herlembald.—*Id.*, p. 821.

[2] Cf. PURICELLI, *Vit. SS. Herlembaldi et Arialdi; Act. SS.* BOLLAND., 26 Junii; GIULINI, *Memorie della Citta di Milano*, vol. v. p. 106; ARNULPH., *Hist. Mediol.*, b. iii. c. 14, and b. iv. c. 10; LANDULPH. SENIOR, b. iii. ap. MURATORI, *Script.*, vol. iv.

[3] "Sollicitum te de honore Christianæ fidei significasti . . . volumus ut tu etiam, quem ad confortandos Christi milites animum et fortitudinem resumpsisse intelligimus, firmiter in Deo confidas."—Book iii. ep. 15.

[4] Cardinal Benno, in his diatribe against Gregory, names nine cardinals, four of them invested with this dignity by Gregory, who shamefully betrayed him. Hugh le Blanc, who was the Pope's accuser at the Diet of Worms, is omitted from the list. Bennon enumerates the functionaries of the Roman court who also abandoned Gregory, and adds, "Et cuncti milites banda gestantes." But he adds also that the Pope succeeded in restraining the suburban bishops by arming the laymen against them: "Convocatis ad se laicis . . . turbis laicorum stipatus."—BENNO, *De Vit. Hildebrandi*, ap. GOLDAST, *Apol.*, p. 2.

[5] "Permanserunt quoque nec corrupti, nec decepti, aut devicti nobiliores quidam Romani, magis obedire Deo, quam homini cupientes hæretico."—*Vit. S. Anselm. Lucen. a discipulo B. conscripta*, ap. GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 473.

remaining in the world, he led the life of a monk rather than that of a layman.[1] The purity, the almsgiving, the courage, and the modesty of Censius, caused him to be regarded as the model of Christian knights. His glorious life was crowned by martyrdom; and he had the honour of perishing, chief layman among the Lombard Catholics, under the sword of the imperialists.[2] His holiness was proved by more than twenty miracles worked at his tomb, and attested before a synod.[3]

We have seen how, in France, the powerful Count Simon of Valois, before becoming a monk, professed and practised submission towards Gregory. In Germany, the greatest nobles of the empire were found in the front rank of the Pope's partisans. Among them was the Margrave Leopold of Austria, who endured the most cruel sufferings in consequence of his unalterable attachment to the Holy See. There, too, was Count Frederic of Montbéliard, whom Gregory VII. loved like an only son, and whom his contemporaries compared to St. Sebastian, the martyr-knight of the first ages of the Church, and who, after having all his life fought for St. Peter, had the happiness to die on the day of his festival.[4] There was Count Manegold of

[1] "Indefessus miles S. Petri contra schismaticos."—BEMOLD., *Chron.*, ann. 1077, ap. PERTZ, p. 434. "Qui non ut laicus, sed veluti fidelis monachus Deo serviens, justitiam excolebat in omnibus."—PAUL BERNRIED., ap. GRETS., p. 138. See the magnificent eulogy of him by BERTHOLD, *Ann.*, ann. 1077, ap. PERTZ, p. 304.

[2] "Hunc propter fidem Gregorio exhibitam . . . Christus martyrio coronavit . . . occisus est ab apparitoribus Henricianæ persecutionis."—PAUL. BERNRIED., p. 152. "Miræ religionis miles industrius et administrator, qui beatæ vitæ et Christianæ militæi tyrocinio. . . . Pro justitia et fide fausto triumphans martyrio."—BERTHOLD, ap. PERTZ, p. 305. Cf. BERNOLD, *ibid.*, p. 434.

[3] We must not confound this Censius with another noble of the same name, who held Gregory prisoner in his tower in 1076, after having beaten and wounded him, and whom Lambert of Aschaffenburg wrongly describes as Prefect of Rome. Cf. BERTHOLD and BERNOLD, *ad ann. cit.*; BONIZO, *Lib. ad amic.*, pp. 812, 816.

[4] "Abhorrens tyrannidem Henrici regis et schisma . . . dominum ejus

Wöringen, brother of the famous monk Hermann Contractus, who had brought him up in the most orthodox principles and habits. The virtues of Gregory had gained the heart of the Count, who often went to visit the Pope in Italy;[1] but he paid dearly for his devotion and zeal in carrying out the decrees fulminated against the incontinence of priests. His wife was poisoned by the wife of a priest, who had declared that she would make Manegold endure the same anguish as she had herself felt, when she had been forced to separate from him whom she regarded as her lawful husband.

Strong in the support of these lay champions, whose intrepid constancy was able on occasion to brave martyrdom itself, and, on the other hand, despairing of being able to bring back to the right path the greater part of the episcopate and of the secular clergy, Gregory made incredible efforts to reawaken the consciences and to stimulate the zeal of the mass of believers—to act upon them by his letters and his legates—to raise them up in opposition to the guilty bishops and priests. Such was his confidence in the Dukes Rodolph of Suabia and Berthold of Carinthia, and in Count Robert of Flanders, that he ventured to confide to them, although laymen, the execution of the canons against simony and the marriage of priests—enjoining them expressly to brave the authority of the prevaricating bishops, and to send to him all who should dispute their competence in such matters.[2]

jurejurando abnegat. . . ."—*Vit. S. Altmanni*, ap. GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 454. "Luitolfus ditissimus marchio, in causa S. Petri fidelissimus contra schisma."—BERNOLD, ann. 1095, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 463.

[1] "Hic comes sub habitu sæculari more sancti Sebastiani strenuissimus miles Christi fuit, ecclesiasticæ religionis ferventissimus amator et catholicæ pacis indefessus propugnator. Nunc . . . Gregorius, nunc Anselmus . . . quasi unicum filium amaverunt. Nunc clerici et monachi, immo omnes religiosi ferventissime dilexerunt. Hic in fidelitate S. Petri contra schismaticos usque ad mortem studiosissime certavit in cujus etiam festivitate de hujus vitæ ergastulo ereptus."—BERNOLD., *Chron.*, ann. 1092.

[2] "Rogantes vos et admonentes, ut quidquid episcopi loquantur vel

Acts such as this served Henry IV. as a pretext for obtaining from the bishops of the Diet of Worms a sentence of deposition against the Pope, which was accounted for in these terms in the letter of notification sent to Gregory VII.: "Thou hast trampled under foot the pastors of the Church, the archbishops, bishops, and priests, and thou hast thus courted the favour of the vulgar; thou hast armed inferiors against superiors; thou hast taught contempt for the bishops called of God,[1] thou whom God has not called; thou hast given to laymen a mission against priests, empowering them to depose and condemn those very men whom the imposition of episcopal hands had placed over them as directors."[2]

The extreme danger of the situation was felt by the most zealous partisans of the Catholic cause, who mourned the sight of a Pope compelled to invoke the help of laymen against men whose duty and mission it was to serve as models to all believers. But upon whom could Gregory depend? and what was the help of the laity, however numerous and pious, compared to the hostility of the episcopate?

taceant, vos officium eorum, &c. Si qui autem contra vos quasi istud officii vestri non esse, aliquid garrire incipiant; hoc illis respondete, ut vestram et populi salutem non impedientes, de injuncta vobis obedientia, ad nos nobiscum disputaturi veniat."—*Regest.*, GREG. VII., b. ii. c. 45. Cf. b. ii. c. 11.

[1] "Rectores sanctæ Ecclesiæ, videlicet archiepiscopos, episcopos, presbyteros . . . sub pedibus tuis calcasti, in quorum conculcatione cibi favorem ab ore comparasti. . . . Dum subditos in prælatos armasti, dum episcopos nostros vulgi a Deo vocatos, tu, non vocatus, spernendos docuisti, dum laicis ministerium eorum super sacerdotes usurpasti, ut ipsi deponant vel condempnent, qui ipsos a manu Domini per impositionem manuum episcoporum docendos acceperant. . . ."—BRUNO, *de Bello Saxonic.*, c. 67, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 353.

[2] "Persona igitur Apostolici erigit ab eo . . . ut gladium spiritus evaginet in episcopos, qui nos per ostium intraverant, qui eum præcipientem . . . non audierant: id sibi necessitatis imponentes, ut in correctionem ecclesiasticorum opera utatur secularium, et quorum esset speculum vitæ clericorum de agendis consulere, sibi modo arrogent clericis magistrare."—*Epistola* BERNARDI *ad Adalb. Bernald., de damnatione schismaticor.*, ap. USSERMANN, vol. ii. p. 196; and GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 77. Cf. TRITHEM., *Chron. Hirsaug.*, ann. 1074.

We must not forget that the episcopal body, the natural auxiliary and instrument of the papacy, was then, by a very great majority, given over to the cause of passions and doctrines most contrary to the cause of the Church. Gregory confesses, in one of his letters to St. Hugh of Cluny, that it was hard for him to find any bishops justly and legally appointed in the Western Church [1]—a terrible confession, unique in the mouth of a Pope, and which shows to what a degree simony, and a worldly and dissolute life, had degraded the pontifical character.

Thus the greater number of the bishops were, both by the shameful origin of their dignity and by their scandalous manner of life, the systematic enemies of the independence of the Holy See and of ancient ecclesiastical discipline, and consequently strenuous adversaries of the reforms attempted by the sovereign pontiffs from the time of Leo IX. In all Germany only five or six prelates remained faithful to the liberty of the Church and of her head.[2]

[1] "Cum mentis intuitu partes occidentis sive meridiei, aut septentrionis video, vix legales episcopos introitu et vita . . . invenio."—*Ep.*, ii. 49.

[2] A contemporary names only five: Gebhard, Archbishop of Salzburg; Adalbaron, Bishop of Würtzburg; Hermann, of Metz; Altmann, of Passau; and Meginhard, of Frisingen. "Prætor hos solos quinque, in toto regno Teutonico episcopus catholicus inveniri non poterat."—Auct. Anon., *Vit. S. Gebhardi*, ap. CANISIUM, *Antiq. lect.* We must, however, add to these five prelates, Bureard, Bishop of Halberstadt, the soul of the Saxon revolt, and great ally of Gregory; Benno, Bishop of Misnia, apostle of the Slavs from 1066; and Werner, Bishop of Mersburg, who died in 1093: "Solus tunc in Saxon. catholicæ communionis episcopus." According to Bernold, Gregory, in his letter, i. 77, to the Countess Matilda, only speaks of one among the prevaricating bishops—Werner of Strasburg, who had come to Rome to prove his repentance. Later, Udo, Archbishop of Treves, and Pibo of Toul, Thierry of Verona, and several others, returned to their duty; and in 1085, at the end of Gregory's reign, he had fifteen German bishops on his side, while twenty-five remained attached to the emperor. —WALTRAM, *Apolog.*, vol. iii. c. 20. But some years later the number of orthodox bishops again sank to five—those of Passau, Constance, Worms, Würtzburg, and Metz.—BERNOLD, ann. 1089. It is hard to tell in what category we should place Sigefroy of Mayence, Primate of Germany, who had wished to become a monk at Cluny: we see him by turns presiding,

Among them, indeed, were men admirable for their courage, virtue, and capacity, such as the three illustrious and holy friends of the Pope—Adalbaron, Bishop of Würtzburg, the boldest adversary of Henry IV.;[1] Altmann, Bishop of Passau, who voluntarily resigned his see into the hands of Gregory, because he had received investiture from the emperor;[2] and especially Gebhard, Archbishop of Salzburg, who always occupied the foremost place in the Catholic party,[3] was its spokesman on the most solemn occasions,[4] and suffered for the good cause nine years of exile and trials of every kind. We must mention side by side with these good shepherds St. Benno, Bishop of Misnia, who for more than forty years occupied this see[5] adjacent to the Slav countries, and was the apostle of the province of which

in 1076, at the Diet of Worms, which ventured to depose Gregory at the command of Henry, and afterwards electing and crowning, in 1077, King Rodolph, whom the Catholic party set up in opposition to Henry IV. Cf. PAUL BERNRIED, LAMB. SCHAFF., ann. 1076; BERTHOLD, ann. 1077; WALTRAM, *Apolog.*, vol. ii. c. 9. Sigefroy appears to have been truly converted, for, in speaking of his death, in 1084, Bernold says of him, "Gregori papæ per multas tribulationes adjutor indefessus."—PERTZ, v. 439. His successor, Wecilon, put himself openly at the head of the schismatics.

[1] See the fine portrait of him given by his antagonist Waltram.—*Apolog. pro Henr. IV.*, vol. ii. c. 29.

[2] "Hoc offenso scrupulo quod ejus investituram a manu laica recipisset."—*Vit. S. Altmanni*, 1619, ap. GRETSER.

[3] All three distinguished themselves by their sympathy and care for the monks and their great foundations, to which subject we will return. See the collection entitled *Vitæ et miracula SS. Adalberonis episc. Herbipolemis, fundatoris monast. Lambacensis: Altmanni episc. Pataviensis, fundat. monast. S. Nicolai extra muros Pataviæ et Gottincensis in Austria superior.: Gebhardi, archiep. Salisburg. fundat. monast. Admontensis in Styria.*—Omnia ex vetust. Codd. MS. Bibl. Lambacensis eruta. Augustæ Vindelic., 1619, 18mo.

[4] Notably at the Conferences of Kauffungen in 1081, and of Gerstungen in 1085.—BRUNO, *de Bell. Saxon.*, c. 126, et ap. PERTZ, v. 328; WALTRAM, *Apol.*, b. xi. c. 19; *Chron. Ursperg.*, 1015.

[5] From 1056 to 1106. He was born in 1010 of a family of counts, and was Canon of Gosck. TRITHEMIUS, *Chron. Hirsaug.*, ann. 1057, says that he was first a monk of Corvey, then first abbot of the new monastery of Gosck, in Thuringia; but we find no trace of the saint's monastic life in the remains collected by the Bollandists.—*Act.* BOLLAND. vol. iii., Junii, p. 148 *et seq.*

Gregory VII. had made him legate. This apostolic mission, which kept Benno apart from the most active combat, did not prevent him from showing energetically his fidelity to the pontifical decrees.[1] He caused the keys of his cathedral to be thrown into the Elbe, so as to prevent the excommunicated from entering it;[2] and he was publicly assailed and struck by the imperialist margrave of the country, who, having drawn upon himself the episcopal censure by usurping the property of the Church, died suddenly, a year after this sacrilegious attack, as the bishop had predicted.[3]

But what could the few orthodox prelates do against the almost unanimous body of the bishops of the empire, whose elevation was due either to simony or to the caprice of their imperial master, and whose minds were bent upon throwing off the salutary yoke of canonical discipline?[4] When Gregory, in 1074, issued his first decree of condemnation against married priests, out of more than forty bishops in Germany, two only—those of Mayence and Passau—dared to publish it. Two years later (1076) nineteen German bishops sat at the famous assembly of Worms, where, at the command of Henry IV., they did not hesitate to declare the Pope deprived of his dignity, even before any sentence had been given by him against the king. There were three bishops among the five imperial councillors; and it is usual to regard as the principal authors of Henry's crimes these

[1] "Præsul sanctissimus tyranno in facie restitit et pro defensione auctoritatis Romani Pontificis cunctis diebus fortitur stetit."—TRITHEM., p. 199.

[2] They were found again in the belly of a fish: this is why he is always represented in episcopal robes holding his crosier in one hand, and in the other a fish and a key.—*Act. SS.* BOLLAND., *loc. cit.* pp. 150, 169, and 204.

[3] *Act. SS.* BOLLAND., pp. 149, 171; TRITHEM., *loc. cit.* St. Benno died June 16, 1106, and was canonised by Adrian VI. in 1523.

[4] In the first rank of these great criminals we must place William Bishop of Utrecht, the chief instrument in the deposition of Gregory at Worms, and who died soon after, convinced of his own eternal condemnation, and bidding his friends not to pray for a lost soul such as his.—PAUL LANG., ap. BOWDEN, ii. 127.

three prelates, whose dismissal had been often and vainly solicited by the Empress Agnes, Pope Alexander II., and Hildebrand himself.[1]

If the French episcopate had for some years offered a less scandalous spectacle, it was owing to the wholesale execution done by Gregory when, at the Council of Lyons, in 1055, being then only a sub-deacon and apostolic legate, he had, as we have seen, persuaded *fifty-one bishops* to give up the sees which they had obtained by simony.[2] But the simoniacal leprosy was not entirely extirpated from the Church of France till long after the time of Gregory, and, then, thanks to the predominance of that new spirit which he had infused into the clergy.[3] Almost immediately upon his accession, Gregory was obliged to reprove the French bishops severely for their blamable weakness with regard to King Philip, who was disgracing his kingdom by all kinds of excess.[4] Had they not seen Manasses, Archbishop of Reims, and enemy of the monks, crown Henry IV. at the very time when he was besieging Gregory VII. in Rome?[5]

As to the Italian bishops, they were yet more scandalous and more embittered against the Holy See than those beyond

[1] Those of Ratisbon, Constance, and Lausanne. The latter, Burcard, was publicly married.

[2] LABBE and COLETTI, *Concil.*, vol. xii. p. 5.

[3] A bishop, equally pious and learned, has borne severe testimony to the simony still practised by the French bishops at the beginning of the following century:—

"Nam sunt prælati vigilantes utilitati
Qui faciunt questum, si dona Dei manifestum
Et Christum vendunt. Nec eos alii reprehendunt:
Quidam terrore tolerant: aliique fervore:
Nulli donatus aratis est pontificatus . . .:
His plenus vitiis est totus Gallicus orbis."

—MARBODE, Bishop of Rennes, *in Elog. Milonis*, ap. MABILL., *Annal.*, vol. v., App. No. 58.

[4] Ep. ii. 5.

[5] STENTZEL, i. 476. This coronation, which took place in 1081, is different from the one celebrated by the anti-Pope Guibert after Henry had taken possession of Rome.

the Alps. In Lombardy they showed themselves faithful to the traditions of their predecessors, who, from the ninth century, under the Emperor Lothair, had taken the part of temporal authority against the independence of the Roman Church.[1] The bishops of Northern Italy, for the most part, signalised themselves throughout the struggle as the most implacable and dangerous enemies of the Holy See. It was these bishops, and especially those of Milan, Bologna, and Trevisa, who most bitterly reproached Henry IV. for his humility, perhaps sincere, at Canossa, and who urged him into the abyss by inciting him to break his oaths.[2] Thirty Lombard bishops at Brixen chose Gilbert of Ravenna, one of their number, as anti-Pope;[3] and even before this, they had acknowledged the intruding Archbishop of Milan, and supported all the schismatic violences of the Assembly of Worms.[4] In many provinces there were scarcely any orthodox bishops,[5] and the small number of faithful prelates were considered as fools or infamous by the crowd of prevaricators,[6] who, to quote the words of Gregory, "instead of being the pillars of the Church, desired only to injure her, and, if possible, to bring her to destruction."[7]

[1] LENORMANT, *Cours d'histoire moderne*, 1846, p. 115.

[2] "Schismaticorum et concubinariorum episcoporum instigatione accidit, ut vix in Germaniam reversus iterum in pristina relaberetur."—*Vit. Greg.*, ap. LABBE. *Concil.*, ed. COLETTI, xii. 233. "Stabat turba maligna pontificum valde metuentes hanc fore pacem," &c.—DONNIZ., *Vit. Mathild.*

[3] June 25, 1080.

[4] At the Council of Placentia, 1076.

[5] "Quod faciebant reliqui Episcopi Lotharingiæ et Langobardiæ, exceptis perpaucis qui magisterio Petri adhærebant, quorum vita . . . publica notabatur infamia, insana dicebatur et hæretica."—HUGO FLAVIN., *Chron. Vird.*, p. 228, ed. LABBE. We see that the bishops of Lorraine, those of Toul, Verdun, &c., rivalled those of Lombardy in ill-doing.

[6] The church of Lodi, under Bishop Opizonus, escaped this universal contagion.—*Regest. Greg. VII.*, b. ii. ep. 55. "Per omnem Longobardiam ubi catholici non haberentur episcopi, qui tunc inveniebantur certe rarissimi."—*Vit. S. Anselm. Lucens.*, ap. GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 474.

[7] "Longobardorum Episcopi . . . quantam superbiam quantosque malitiæ conatus adversus nos adorsi sint, ad dicendum quidem triste, ad audiendum est abominabile, cum illi qui in ecclesia Dei columnæ esse

In Italy, as in France and Germany, the clerks or secular priests offered even a more stubborn resistance than that of the bishops; and this is explained by the fact that upon them fell the whole weight of the prohibition of marriage. The episcopate, with some exceptions, had indeed remained free from this stain. Notwithstanding, the clergy in most dioceses opposed, by the most violent means, such of the bishops as wished to obey the Pope. At Rouen, the Archbishop John narrowly escaped death at the hands of his clergy, who drove him with stones from his metropolis when he pronounced the anathema against married priests. At Brescia, when the bishop, alone among his Lombard colleagues, wished to publish the decrees of the Council of 1059, he was assailed by his clergy, and so seriously hurt, that at one time his life was despaired of.[1]

When Archbishop Sigefroy of Mayence tried to read the decree of the Pope, which ordered the priests of his province to give up either their wives or the ministry of the altar, these priests flung themselves upon him, and compelled him to save his life by stopping the reading he had commenced.[2] The virtuous Altmann, Bishop of Passau, one of the five German prelates who always remained faithful to the cause of the Church, would have been torn in pieces by his clergy if some nobles had not snatched him out of their hands.[3]

Otto of Frisingen[4] says expressly that at the meeting at

debuerunt, non modo in compage comporis Christi nullum locum teneant, sed pertinaciter impugnatores et quantum ad se destructores existant."—Ep. GREG. *ad Genuenos*, ap. HUG. FLAVIN., p. 217, ed. LABBE.

[1] In 1072. "Multum contra impudicos presbyteros pro auferendis pellicibus laboravit: a quibus dum in synodo concubinas eas sub anathemate prohiberet, lapidibus percussus aufugit de ecclesia."—ORD. VITAL., vol. iv. c. 2. See the canon he wished to publish.—*Ibid.*, c. 9.

[2] DÖLLINGER, vol. ii. sect. 82, p. 89.

[3] *Vita Altmanni*, c. ii., ap. PERTZ, *Scrip. rer. Austr.*, vol. i.

[4] "Laici seculari consideratione accensi, et episcopi consilio clericorum suorum, quibus recenter connubia ab eodem pontifice inhibita fuerant, inflammati, voluntati principis accedebant."—OTTO FRISING., ap. GOLDAST, *Apol.*, p. 19.

Brixen, in 1080, where Gregory was a second time deposed by the imperialist bishops, and where the anti-Pope, Gilbert of Ravenna, was elected, the bishops were chiefly determined by the violent protestations of their clergy against the prohibition of marriage fulminated by Gregory.[1]

Almost everywhere the secular clergy pronounced themselves in crowds for Henry IV.: they understood, by a true instinct, that the cause of sacerdotal concubinage was intimately connected with the encroachments of temporal power. Naturally the priests and deacons suspended or interdicted by orthodox bishops found a secure refuge with Henry.[2] On the other hand, a contemporary says that the moment a clerk renounced the world, fasted and mortified himself, let his beard grow, or showed any other mark of gravity in his dress or behaviour, he was accused of high treason, loaded with abuse, and branded with the name of *Churchman*[3] or *sacristan*. The married and imperialist clergy denounced these virtues as an insult to their master, and thus themselves indicated the true nature of their opposition to the Pope. This clergy, besides, shrank from no violence,[4] being sure of always finding a supporter in

[1] HERM., book lxii. sect. 22. See also on this subject the letter of St. Anselm of Canterbury to Urban II. on the violence which Foulques, Bishop of Beauvais, had to endure from the clergy of that diocese: "Quia eos a pravis consuetudinibus, et maxime a mulierum remota conversatione vult prohibere, et filios eorum . . . a præbendarum hæreditaria successione . . . arcere."—S. ANSELM., *Ep.*, ii. 33, ed. Gerberon, p. 354.

[2] See the story of the deacon whom Bishop Altmann forbade, in a solemn mass, to read the Gospel: "Ad Heinricum, pravorum refugium, fidens confugit."—*Vit. S. Altmanni*, ap. GRETSER, vi. 455.

[3] "Si aliquem qui forsitan pro amore patriæ cœlestis sæculum reliquisset, carnem macerasset, quemque aliqua corporis molestia attenuasset, sive qui, ut tunc moris erat, barbam quasi in signum religionis enutrisset, quasi regii honoris proditores contumeliis afficiebant, insultanter eos *Ecclesianos* appellantes."—*Gesta Trevir. archiep.*, ap. MARTEN., *Coll. Ampliss.*, vol. iv., quoted by BOWDEN, ii. 137, who has well pointed out this important point of view.

[4] MABILL., *Ann.*, b. lxv., No. 112; *Vit. S. Altmanni*, ap. PERTZ et GRETS., vi. 452.

a sovereign who defended their interests with so much warmth that he publicly flogged and expelled the regular and celibate canons of St. Nicholas of Passau, in order to replace them by married priests.[1]

The famous letter written by the clerks of Cambray to those of Reims, to incite them to defend the pretended freedom of the clergy, is well known—a letter which clearly proves both the approbation felt by the masses of the people for the papal reforms, and also the unity existing between the defenders of clerical marriages and those of imperial usurpation. "We are loaded with abuse by our neighbours; we are becoming objects of derision and contempt to all around us; and the evil will be without remedy if we do not skilfully organise our resistance.[2] You know that the audacity of the Romans is such that they no longer respect anything, since they dare to encroach even upon the royal majesty, to excommunicate metropolitans, to depose bishops,[3] to enthrone ambitious men under pretext of religion, to hold councils without number, and to subject us

[1] These wretches had burned alive a man who maintained that simoniacal and married priests ought not to celebrate mass.—*Regest. Greg. VII.*, b. iv. ep. 20.

[2] "In tuenda publica clericorum libertate."

[3] "Facti sumus opprobrium vicinis nostris, subsannatio et derisum his qui in circuitu nostro sunt, nisi ad ea quæ prætenduntur vestra nostraque solerter invigilaverit industria. Si quidem Romanorum, ut audistis, importunitas tanta tamque vehemens nobis incubuit, ut nihil jam intactum relinquas: præsertim cum etiam de imminutione regiæ majestatis agere audeant, metropolitanos vero excommunicare," &c.—*Epist. cleric. Cameræ ad Rom. in gratiam uxorum suarum*, ap. MABILL., *Ann.*, vol. v. App. No. xi. The popular rage against married priests often degenerated into horrible excesses, if we may believe other popular complaints: "Quocumque prodeunt, clamores insultantium, digitos ostendentium, colaphos pulsantium proferunt. . . . Alii membris mutilati . . . alii per longos cruciatus superbe necati."—*Epist. cujusdam ap.* MARTÈNE et DURAND, *Thes. nov. Anecd.*, vol. i. p. 231. "Laici sacra mysteria temerant . . . in extremo vitæ, viaticum dominicum et usitatum ecclesiæ obsequium sepulturæ, a presbyteris conjugatis accipere parvipendunt. . . . Corpus Domini a presbyteris conjugatis consecratum sæpe pedibus conculcaverunt . . ."—SIGEBERT GEMBLAC., ann. 1075.

to foreign domination. They command each one to be content with a single benefice, when we require two or three at least in order to live decently.[1] They spare us in nothing: already they have forbidden the ordination of priests' sons, and now they wish to forbid marriage not only to priests, but to all orders of the clergy. . . . Our pastors, that they may have the air of obeying the authority of Rome, willingly listen to all these things. . . . We ought to feel the intolerable dishonour which is about to fall upon us; we are about to be shamed by all the laity who formerly honoured us. If you are men, therefore, you will protest with us against measures which will bring such opprobrium upon us; for our part, we are irrevocably determined to maintain our customs, which have been wisely established by the indulgence of our fathers, and in no way to agree to unaccustomed and dangerous prescriptions."[2]

In Germany the priests held the same language. "The Pope," they said, speaking of Gregory, "wishes to force men to live like angels, and to do violence to human nature. As for us, we would rather renounce our priesthood than our marriage; and then the Pope will have to get angels, if he can, to govern the Church of God."[3] Gregory, however, had no need to seek angels to confound and replace

[1] "Cum vix duobus aut tribus possit provenire necessariorum sufficientia."—SIGEBERT GEMBLAC., ann. 1075.

[2] "Apud laicos, quibus lecturi sumus in sibillem. . . . Quod si viri estis, si viriliter agere vultis, parvipendenda sunt hujusmodi concilia. . . . Nobis autem hæc est immutabilis sententia. Consuetudinem hactenus nostram, religiosorum patrum æquanimitate sapienter incultam, inconvulsam tenere, neque inusitatis ac periculosis traditionibus in aliquo consentire."—*Ibid.* Do we not seem to hear the modern advocates of the pretended national traditions of France against Catholic unity?

[3] "Vehementer . . . tota factio clericorum, hominem plane hereticum et vesani dogmatis esse, clamitans, qui . . . violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret ritu angelorum, et dum consuetum cursum naturæ negaret, fornicationi frena laxaret . . . malle se sacerdotium quam conjugium deserere, et tunc visurum eum, cui homines sorderent unde gubernandis per Ecclesiam Dei plebibus angelos comparaturus esset."—LAMBERT. ASCHAFF., ad ann. 1074.

these rebels: had he not about him thousands of monks who, for seven centuries, had been giving to the world the example of chastity, devotion, and obedience, and who hurried in crowds to the banner he had set up? It was, as might have been expected from the fundamental law of their foundation, among the children of St. Benedict that the generous attempt of Gregory to restore to honour clerical celibacy, purity of election, and the independence of the Church, found the most energetic and most persevering support.

Among all the monasteries of imperial or royal foundation placed under the hand of the emperor or his lieutenants, only those of Farfa in Italy, and of Hersfeld and St. Gall north of the Alps,[1] are spoken of as having joined the party of Henry IV. St. Gall was then ruled by a relation of the emperor, who had been forcibly installed there, to the prejudice of a monk of the house who was devoted to the Pope.[2] Henry had also placed abbots of his own choice at Hersfeld, and at the same time had chosen as bishops there some of his most zealous partisans.[3] None the less, how-

[1] MABILL., *Annal.*, b. lxv. No. 24. The German Cassander, in his recent writings against Gregory VII., p. 107, cites complacently the letter of the Abbey of Lorsch to the emperor *contra Hildebrandinos monachos de Hirsaugia;* but he forgets to say that this Abbey of Lorsch had been violently confiscated in 1066, and given to Adalbert of Bremen, enemy of the legitimate Pope. This letter also belongs to the time of Henry V. We quote some passages from it further on.

[2] This monk was called Lutold of Nellenburg.—BURKARD, *Cas. S. Galli*, c. 7. Cf. BERTHOLD, ann. 1079, 1092, ap. USSERM., vol. ii. pp. 97, 152. From this crisis onward the great Abbey of St. Gall lost its ancient ascetic character, to become a political and feudal military association under a monastic exterior. Its monks, however, long maintained their abstinence and regularity of worship.—ARX., vol. i. pp. 324, 326.

[3] Among others, Hartwig, Archbishop of Magdeburg, his principal negotiator with the Saxons, whose metropolis Magdeburg was. We must not confound him with another Hartwig, Archbishop of the same diocese, who succeeded the partisan of Henry, and placed himself in the first rank of orthodox prelates; also Waltram, Bishop of Naumbon, the most skilful of Henry's apologists.—GOLDAST, *Apolog. pro Henr.*, pp. 10, 15, 20, 29, and 41.

ever, this abbey furnished, in the person of the monk Lambert of Aschaffenburg, the most impartial and orthodox historian of the epoch.[1]

In other regions of the empire monks endured insult, floggings, and expulsion, rather than betray the cause of the Church, being certain that they should find, in their exile, certain and generous support from those of their friends whom persecution had not yet touched. This support never failed them, whatever might be the greatness of distance or the difference of countries. When Bishop Thierry of Verdun, to punish the monks of St. Vannes for their unalterable attachment to the true Pope, drove them out naked upon the highway, they escaped to Burgundy, forty in number, and, at St. Benigne, at Dijon, under the crosier of Abbot Jarenton, found a new home, where they were received as angels,[2] and where they lived in the most complete union with their new brothers, till the day when their dying persecutor recalled them that he might obtain their pardon and their blessing.[3]

[1] Goldast describes him thus: "Monachus præter sententiam collegii sui schismaticus et Hildebrandinus."—GOLDAST, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

[2] "Velut angeli Dei recepti sunt."—LAURENT, LEOD., *Hist. Episc. Virdun.*, in *Spicileg.*, vol. ii. p. 245.

[3] *Ibid.* Among them was the historian Hugh de Flavigny, author of the celebrated chronicle published by Labbe, *Nova. Bibl. manuscr.*, vol. i. Soon after their return, on the death of Thierry, they were again exiled for the same cause, and Rodolph, Abbot of St. Vannes, died in 1099, at Flavigny, in Burgundy, surrounded by the highest nobility of the country, who reverenced him profoundly. There is nothing more curious for the study of the dispositions and sentiments of the clergy and people of Lorraine at this time, than the account of the translation of the body of this abbot from Flavigny to Verdun, ap. HUG. FLAVIN., pp. 265, 267, amidst the applause of the crowd who had before applauded his exile, and considered him an enemy of the laws and of his country. "Qui aliquando ab ineptis et minus sapientibus subversor legum et patriæ . . . appellabatur, hic nunc ab omnibus pater civitatis et patriæ pronunciabatur. . . . Videre erat suburbanos homines et etiam rusticanos, compati doloribus monachorum . . . et dicere: *Boni monachi, non amplius recuperabitis patrem tam pium, tam amantissimum; merito dolitis, merito tristamini.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 207.

Gregory, himself sprung from the monastic ranks, and to whom his adversaries applied the title of monk as a term of reproach,[1] had never doubted that the order of St. Benedict would furnish the boldest and most numerous champions to the cause of the Church. It was for this reason that during the twelve years of his pontificate he applied himself, as his predecessors had done, to defend and maintain with energy the special liberties of monasteries, and, above all, their freedom from episcopal jurisdiction. At the time of his accession, in 1073, Gregory espoused, warmly and successfully, the cause of the monks of St. Remy of Reims against the Archbishop Manasses.[2] In the same year he ordered Lanfranc to maintain the liberties of St. Edmundsbury against Bishop Ardfast.[3] At a later period, he successively and effectually protected the privileges of St. Hubert,[4] St. Michael of Verdun,[5] St. Gilles,[6] Poultières,[7] St. Michael of Chiusa,[8] Remiremont,[9] St. Benigne,[10] and many other monasteries, against the bishops who denied the authority of these privileges.

In Germany and Spain he granted several new exemptions, and gave to the communities thus enfranchised the privileges of Cluny. He acted in the same manner with regard to the important abbeys of Schaffhausen on the Rhine, and of St. Victor of Marseilles,[11] both of which furnished him with valuable auxiliaries. He re-established the privileges, and at the same time the strict observance of the rule at Grasse and at Monténajour.[12] One of his letters to the Bishop of Turin, in favour of the monastery of St.

[1] "Heinricus, non usurpative sed pia Dei ordinatione rex, Hildebrando, jam non apostolico, *sed falso monacho*." This is the heading of the letter by which Henry announced to Gregory the sentence of deposition pronounced against him at Worms, January 24, 1076.

[2] *Regist.*, b. i. ep. 13. [3] Ep. i. 31.

[4] Ep. i. 61, and *Vit. Theod. abb.*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 575.

[5] Ep. i. 81. [6] Ep. i. 68. [7] Ep. ii. 15.

[8] Ep. ii. 33, 69. [9] Ep. iv. 2.

[10] Bull of June 18, 1078, ap. PÉRARD, p. 94.

[11] Ep. vii. 8, and viii. 24. [12] Ep. ix. 6.

Michael of Cluny, deserves to be quoted: "Do you think," the Pope writes to this prelate, "that bishops have received, with their pastoral staff, such an amount of power and licence that they may oppress as they please the monasteries which are in their dioceses, and diminish religious fervour there by capricious and unlimited requirements? Are you then ignorant that popes have frequently freed the monasteries from the rule of bishops, and bishops from that of metropolitans, on account of the vexations inflicted by superiors? Do you not know that it has been their object, by the gift of lasting liberty, to attach the churches to the Apostolic See, as the members are attached to the head? Consider the privileges granted by our predecessors, and you will see that it has been forbidden even to archbishops to fulfil their office in abbeys unless invited by the abbots, lest the peace of the cloister should be disturbed by the influx and the conversation of secular visitors."[1]

We must, however, guard ourselves from any hasty conclusion, founded upon the preceding facts, that Hildebrand despised the rights of the episcopate. On the contrary, when the bishops had reason to complain of the monasteries, he never hesitated to do them justice,[2] even when it was to the detriment of the holy house of Cluny, from which he himself came.[3] As prince of bishops, what he chiefly

[1] "Numquid ne existimas episcopos hanc in pastorali regimine potestatem atque licentiam suscepisse, ut monasteria, quæ in suis parochiis consistunt, quantum velint opprimant, et studium religionis suæ prælationis occasione, hæc et illa potenter exigendo, et potestatem suam exercendo, comminuant? An ignoras quod sancti patres plerumque et religiosa monasteria de subjectione episcoporum et episcopatus de parochia metropolitanæ sedis propter infestationem præsidentium diviserunt, et perpetua libertate donantes apostolicæ sedi velut principalia capiti suo membra adhærere sanxerunt? Percurre sanctorum patrum privilegia, et invenies ipsis etiam archiepiscopis officium, nisi forte ab abbate vocatis, in plerisque cœnobiis facere prohibitum esse, ne forte monastica quies sæcularium personarum frequentia et conversatione turbaretur."—*Epist. Greg. VII.*, b. ii. ep. 69.

[2] See, among others, ep. i. 30, 33, and 66; vi. 11.

[3] Ep. vi. 33.

desired in favouring and protecting monks was to free his brethren of the episcopate from the shameful bonds which enchained them, and to restore to them that freedom and dignity which become those whom the Holy Spirit has chosen to oversee the work of God.[1]

In order to succeed in his work, Gregory VII. was forced to draw from the Monastic Orders the counsellors, ministers, and legates, whose character, talents, and devotion to the Church we have now to describe.

Among these invaluable fellow-workers the highest rank belongs, by age and authority, to the holy Abbot Hugh of Cluny, whose virtues and character we have already celebrated, who was the superior of the monk Hildebrand at Cluny, and whom Gregory never ceased to reverence and to consult, from the day of his entrance into the monastery to that of his departure for Rome. The profound and affectionate respect felt by Gregory VII. for Hugh had done nothing but increase since the time when, having gone as legate to Cluny, he had thought that he saw our Lord seated in the chapter beside the abbot, dictating to him his instructions for the maintenance of the rule.[2] At all times, indeed, Hildebrand had anxiously sought Hugh's approbation, knowing, by virtue of that mysterious gift which certain souls possess, how to read the old man's secret thoughts when his approbation was not thorough. Interesting anecdotes have been transmitted to us which show the profound sympathy and community of thought between these two holy monks. One day when they were travelling together, coming back from the deposition of a simoniacal bishop condemned by Hildebrand, as they reached the ford of a river, the latter, passing before Hugh, said to him, "Why have you such

[1] "Posuit episcopos regere Ecclesiam."—*Act.*, xx. 28.

[2] "Ubi cum aliquandiu sedisset, collateratum B. Hugoni Christum vidit, monastici regulas ordinis ac decreta suggerentem. Egressus inde, nonnullis quæ viderat indicavit. Ex tunc ille et familiaritatem servi Christi devotius amplexatus est, et sanctitatem prædicavit."—HILDEB. CENOM., *Vit. S. Hugo.*, ap. *Bibl. Cluniac.*, p. 419.

thoughts of me?" Hugh, astonished, replied, "Are you a god, thus to know men's thoughts?" "No," answered Hildebrand, "I am not a god, but I seemed to hear what you said to yourself in your own heart: you were asking yourself whether I had not deposed this bishop out of pride rather than out of zeal for God. . . . I looked at you while you were still in the middle of the river, and this idea came, as if by a mysterious thread, from your lips to my ear."[1]

Another time, when following with the papal retinue, seeing Gregory surrounded by the official pomp of his position as Chancellor of the Church, and receiving marks of the profoundest submission from the secular authorities, Hugh asked himself if so much splendour lavished upon a low-born little man[2] would not fill him with pride. At that moment Hildebrand called out to him, "You judge wrongly a man who, in this at least, is innocent; for he knows perfectly well that all these honours are rendered, not to him, but to the holy apostles."[3] It was not, then, a mind prejudiced in his favour, not the yielding spirit of a flatterer, which Gregory, when made Pope, desired to bind to him; he wanted a friend to whom he could confide his anxieties, and of whom he could ask the light and consolation he needed. Hugh, besides, occupied a kind of intermediary position between the emperor and Rome. Of a naturally moderate

[1] "Simul ambo profecti ad flumen quoddam pervenientes transvadebant. . . . Archidiaconus vero præcessit abbatem; transmisso flumine, conversus retro respexit et dixit: Cur talia de me cogitasti? Abbas vero respondit: Tu ne es Deus qui cogitationes hominum te scire asseveras? Deus, inquit, non sum. . . . Venientem te per alveum fluminis respexi, et quasi filum tensum ab ore tuo usque ad aures meas: inde, hoc perpendisse te sensi."—PAUL BERNRIED, *Vit. S. Gregor. VII.*, ap. BOLLAND., vol. vi., Maii, p. 115.

[2] "Cuncta ei submittebatur secularis potentia. . . . Homuncionem exilis staturæ, despicabilis parentelæ."—GUILL. MALMES., ed Savil., b. iii. p. 60.

[3] "Male cogitas de homine hujus duntaxat rei innocente. Non enim hunc honorem mihi, sed beatis apostolis tributum existimo." The good Hugh, "suffusus pudore," asking his friend how he had been able to guess his thoughts, Gregory answered, "Hæc ex animo tuo quasi per fistulam ad aures meas deducta est."—*Ibid.*

character, he had been, since the first years of his abbacy, the intimate friend of the Emperor Henry III., who persuaded him to be godfather to his son, the unhappy Henry IV. A special embassy to Hungary with which he was charged, for the purpose of reconciling the king Andrew with the German emperor, shows the double confidence the negotiator inspired. At the Diet of Worms in 1072, he had been chosen, with the ex-regent Agnes, then a nun at Rome, to re-establish peace between the young king and the princes of the empire; and after the famous interview of Canossa (1077), he was the mediator, together with the Countess Matilda, between Gregory and Henry IV.[1] Although the Abbot of Cluny, like all the Church, considered the emperor's excommunication valid,[2] yet it is probable that he did not cease to show to his royal godson all the interest compatible with his duties as a Catholic.

Gregory had nevertheless boundless confidence in his friend. In the first year of his pontificate he complained bitterly that his beloved Hugh would not join him at Rome.[3] Nothing could shake this faithful friendship:[4] he employed Hugh whenever it was possible in the most important legations and missions, being persuaded, as he wrote to the Bishop of Die, that no entreaties, no favour, no acceptance of persons, would ever turn the holy monk from the path of justice. "I beg you," he wrote to Hugh himself in 1075, "I conjure you, I implore you, to obtain, by pressing solicitation, from those whose merits deserve that they should be heard, that they will pray to the Lord for me with all the love they owe to their mother. And since we must fight

[1] PAUL BERNRIED, *Vit. S. Greg. VII.*, No. 84.

[2] Ep. i. 62.

[3] See *passim* the *Regist. Greg. VII.*, ap. LABBE, *Concil.*, especially vi. 17, where he calls Hugh his *dearest brother*. We see by ep. viii. 2, that attempts were made to separate them.

[4] "Confidimus enim in Dei misericordia et conversatione vitæ ejus, quod nullius deprecatio, nullius favor aut gratia, nec aliqua prorsus personalis acceptio eum a tramite rectitudinis dimovere poterit."—Lib. iv. ep. 22.

with both hands to vanquish the rage of the impious, and protect the peace of the monks, seeing that no prince cares for them, we enjoin you with brotherly affection to lend us as much assistance as you can, exhorting those who love St. Peter, if they would be truly his sons and his soldiers, not to prefer secular princes to him; for they can give only ephemeral rewards, while he promises eternal ones, and, thanks to the power intrusted to him, can lead them into the heavenly country. For I need to distinguish clear as the day who those are who are truly faithful, who serve the prince of heaven for love of the celestial glory, with as much devotion as those other princes who can give them only a miserable and earthly hope."[1] Hugh, who said of Gregory that he was a gentle tyrant—a lion when it was needful to strike, a lamb when it was fitting to pardon[2]—could only atone for his own absence from Rome by giving up, so to speak, to Gregory the most eminent monks of his abbey, such as the pious and learned Gerald, Grand-prior of Cluny, created by Gregory Cardinal-bishop of Ostia;[3] Odo, a young noble of Champagne, who became in succession Prior of Cluny and Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, and was pointed out by Gregory on his deathbed as worthy to succeed him, and afterwards elected Pope under the name of Urban II.; and Anastasius, a Venetian noble and legate in Spain.[4] These three monks held the first rank among the indefatigable

[1] "Precor, exoro, rogo, ut eos qui merentur audiri pro vitæ meritis. . . . Et quia utraque manu debemus pro dextera uti . . . quando quidem non est princeps qui talia curet. . . . Eos monendo . . . qui beatum Petrum diligunt, ut si vere illius volunt esse filii et milites, non habeant illo cariores sæculares principes. . . . Volo quidem luce clarius intelligere, qui revere sint illi fideles, et qui eumdem cœlestem principem non minus pro cœlesti gloria diligunt, quam eos quibus pro spe terrena et misera subjiciuntur."—Ep. ii. 49.

[2] "Blandum tyrannum, quia leonem videbat, et agnum: leonem in feriendo, quando culpa exigebat; agnum in parcendo, quando ratio postulabat."—*Bibl. Clun.*, p. 452.

[3] *Regist. Greg. VII.*, b. i. c. 62. See the history of his conversion in the *Vit. S. Udalr. Clun.* in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 786. He died in 1077.

[4] *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 488.

legates who propagated and nourished the work of Gregory in Europe, and whom he instructed to make themselves known to the oppressed as their natural defenders, and to the oppressors as the faithful friends of justice.[1]

Another Hugh, also sprung from the monastic ranks, had sufficient merit to be employed by Gregory in the most important missions, and to be one of the four monks from among whom he wished his successor to be chosen.[2] This was Hugh of Burgundy, prior of the monastery of St. Marcel-lez-Châlons,[3] and afterwards treasurer of the church at Lyons. While holding this office he passed through Die, on his way home, at the moment when the legate Gerald was deliberating with the canons and principal citizens of the town on the means of supplanting the simoniacal Bishop Ancelin, who had refused to appear before the representative of the Holy See, and remained shut up in his episcopal palace with a well-armed garrison.[4] It was not without some surprise that at this moment the orthodox party assembled in the cathedral saw the young Hugh, all booted and spurred,[5] enter the building to pray there, before remount-

[1] "Ut oppressi vos prudentes defensores inveniant, et opprimentes amatores justitiæ cognoscant."—Ep. vi. 3. The Pope had the more reason to employ monks as legates because he had seen himself betrayed in a manner most hurtful to the Church by two of his bishop-legates, the Patriarch of Aquilea and the Bishop of Padua, in 1079.—BERTHOLD., ap. PERTZ, v. 319.

[2] Didier, Abbot of Monte Cassino, who was Victor III.; Odo, formerly Prior of Cluny, Bishop of Ostia (Urban II.); Anselm, formerly monk of Cluny, Bishop of Cluny; and Hugh, then Archbishop of Lyon.

[3] *Preuves de l'hist. de la maison de Vergy*, p. 82; MABILL., b. lxx.-lxxxv.; *Hist. litt. de France*, vol. ix. p. 302. He was nephew of Hugh of Burgundy, and elected Bishop of Die in 1073; legate of Gregory VII. from 1074 to 1085; Archbishop of Lyon in 1085; legate of Urban II. in 1088; went on pilgrimage to St. James' of Compostella in 1095, to Jerusalem in 1102, and died in 1106.

[4] See the curious account of this election in HUGUES DE FLAVIGNY, *Chron. Virdun.*, p. 194, ap. LABBE. Ancelin had so wasted the revenue of his diocese that his successor had no means of living; all the churches dependent on it had been given up to knights or other laymen.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 197.

ing his horse to continue his journey.[1] A sudden inspiration took possession of the Catholics of Die, and warned them that this stranger was the bishop they required. They surrounded him, seized upon him, presented him to the legate, and proclaimed him their legitimate bishop.[2] He resisted, struggling with them; but suddenly the sun having pierced a fog which, until that moment, had obscured his light, every one saw in this circumstance a mark of the Divine approbation, and popular enthusiasm carried all before it.[3] The legate forced Hugh to accept, and he resumed his journey to Rome in the character of bishop-elect, though he had only received the tonsure.[4]

This was the year in which Hildebrand, by a similar impulse, had been constrained to become bishop of bishops. He recognised in the young elect of Die a worthy instrument of his own views. His soul, says a contemporary historian, delighted in that of the young man,[5] whom he made his legate in France. Hugh retained this office during the whole pontificate of Gregory. To speak truth, it was he who governed the Church of France for a quarter of a century. He had energy enough to suspend the four metropolitans of Reims, Tours, Bourges, and Besançon, and enough authority to make his sentence respected, until Gregory, with that moderation which characterised him, remitted the punishment of the repentant bishops. Hugh succeeded in purifying the French episcopate, and in subduing, if not in extirpating, the simoniacal heresy, thanks to the indefatigable activity, the intrepidity, and the vigour

[1] "Præcinctum et paratum ad equitandum . . . cum calcaribus."—HUG FLAV., *Chron Virdun.*, p. 197.

[2] "Rapitur, tenetur . . . deducitur . . . acclamatur."—*Ibid.*

[3] "Cum esset nubilus dies, lux in modum sphæræ per aliquas horas in gremio et facie splenduit ecclesiæ, quæ sic accendit cunctos qui aderant," &c.—*Ibid.* "Non humana sed divina electione episcopus factus est."—BERTHOLD, *Annal.*, ann. 1078.

[4] "Quia solam clericatus tonsuram acceperat, detestabatur enim simoniacorum ordinationes."—HUG. FLAV., *loc. cit.*

[5] "Complacuerat enim sibi in illo anima ejus."—*Ibid.*

which he displayed in the provincial councils convoked by him in all parts of the kingdom.[1]

The efforts of Gregory and his legates were powerfully seconded in France by those of Walter, Abbot of Pontoise who, on receiving from Philip I. the investiture of his abbey, took the crosier above, and not below the royal hand, and said to the king, "I hold it from God, and not from you."[2] Not long after, being desirous of giving up his dignified office, he went to Rome to obtain Gregory's permission to abdicate.[3] But the Pope, who had learned to value him, obliged him to continue in his abbacy. Walter came back to France, where he warmly remonstrated with King Philip upon the unworthy manner in which clerical promotion was given; he asked him who had given to him the keys of the celestial kingdom, from whom he had received the right to bind and to loose; and dared to tell him that the prince must in the end be responsible for the scourge which was devastating the Church, since he sold bishoprics to clerks, who in their turn sold the office of the priesthood.[4] Finally, in a council held at Paris, where the French clergy had protested against what they called the insupportable yoke of Gregory's decrees, Walter defended these decrees at the peril of his life. The prelates, irritated by his boldness, expelled him from the council; their followers struck him

[1] See in COLETTI, *Conc.*, vol. xii., p. 602 *et seq.*, the councils held by him at Dijon, Clermont, Autun, Poitiers, Bordeaux, Lyon, Issoudun, Meaux, Saintes, and Avignon, and the reports which he addressed to Gregory on several of these assemblies. Cf. HUG. FLAVIN., *Chron.*, ap. LABBE, *Nova Bibl. MS.*, and above all, BALUZ., *Miscell.*, vol. iii., Nos. 53 to 70, ed. Mansi.

[2] "Non enim a te regimen ecclesiæ suscipio, sed a Deo."—*Vita S. Gualterii altera*, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 831.

[3] "Papam expetiit Hildebrandum nomine. . . . Domno Apostolico notus ac familiaris . . . frequenter ad colloquendum adsciscitur."—*Vit. S. Gualterii prima, ibid.*, p. 876, and *Act. SS.* BOLLAND., die 8 April.

[4] "Dic mihi si nosti unde claves regni cœlorum accepisti? Dum enim tu ipse honores ecclesiasticos quibusdam vendis, ipsi rursus sacros ordines et manuum impositionem vendunt aliis, horum omnium malorum, si bene perspexeris, caput esse videris."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 817.

and spat upon him; they even went so far as to threaten him with death, but he quietly replied, "I would rather die for the truth than basely yield to falsehood."[1] Happily some nobles who were touched by his fervour and courage delivered him from the hands of his persecutors, and restored him to the austere freedom of his cloister.[2]

It was not in France only that Gregory employed the devotion of the monks in defending a cause which was at once that of the Church and of the Monastic Orders. St. Simon of Valois, a monk of St. Claude, whose exploits and conversion we have related elsewhere, had, as we have seen, negotiated the alliance between Robert Guiscard and the Pope—an alliance necessary to the security of the Church in Italy, and which alone could save Gregory from the imperial grasp.[3] When the help of the founder of the Norman power in Sicily had become quite indispensable to the Pope, then besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, Jarenton, another French monk, was the messenger who called Robert to his aid.[4] This Jarenton was a young noble who had received at Cluny[5] the most brilliant education, but who, far from embracing the religious life, had entered upon a worldly and military career with such enthusiasm that his conversion seemed to all who knew him to be impossible.[6]

[1] "Quum omnes fere tam episcopi quam abbates et clerici censerent Domni Apostolici . . . jussioni non esse parendum, dicentes . . . importabilia esse ejus præcepta. . . . Ipsum de concilio rapiunt, trahunt, impingunt, colaphizant, conspuunt. . . . Mortemque minantibus hilari voce respondit: Malo mortem pro veritate sustinere quam falsitati turpiter cedere."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 818.

[2] "Quorumdum optimatum, qui eum prius noverant et dilexerant, virtute, de loco in quo custodiebatur, eripitur."—*Ibid.* He died about 1084, after having set the grandest example of monastic penance and austerity. François de Harlay, Archbishop of Rouen, ordered, in 1658, that the day of his festival should be a holiday throughout the whole of the French Vexin.

[3] See above.

[4] HUGO FLAVIN., *Chron. Vird.*, p. 229, ed. LABBE.

[5] "Litteris imbrutus est ab his qui majoris auctoritatis videbantur in Cluniaco."—*Ibid.*, p. 197.

[6] "Postquam vero adolevit, sæculo adhæsit . . . militaria potius instru-

But nevertheless, this extraordinary work was accomplished. Wearied of pleasure, and at the same time overcome by fear of eternal judgment,[1] he went, a year after the accession of Gregory VII., to take refuge at Chaise-Dieu, in the austere solitude which the second repentance of St. Robert had made a home of spiritual life.[2] Jarenton was elected prior there, and in that capacity must have been present, in 1077, at one of the provincial councils held at Autun by Hugh of Die. The fervent piety of the young monk was remarked by the Bishop of Langres, who had formerly known him in the world,[3] and that prelate called him to assume the office of abbot at the head of the greatest abbey of his diocese, that of St. Benigne at Dijon. "Give me," said he, kneeling before the council, and indicating Jarenton, "this fish from the fountain of God."[4] Duke Hugh of Burgundy joined his entreaties to those of the bishop, and the council yielded to their desire, in spite of the resistance of the humble monk. The nomination was ratified by the unanimous vote of the monks of St. Benigne.[5] The latter had never

menta appetens . . . animus . . . domari non poterat. Ita sæculo deditus ut ejus jam facta conversio omnibus videretur miraculo."

[1] "Ubi vero voluptati satisfecisse se vidit, cœpit tædere. . . . Vicit metus mortis et gehennæ."—HUG. FLAV., *Chron. Vird.*, p. 197.

[2] See above.

[3] "Ante conversionem notum habuerat . . . divinam collaudans potentiam, qui levitatem dissolutionis ejus quam habuerat in sæculo infrenaverat monastici ordinis et regularis gravitatis freno."—*Ibid.*, p. 199.

[4] "Manu designans et simul in verbis procumbens, et genua flectens: *Date*, ait, *mihi hunc piscem de fonte Dei*."—*Ibid.*, 200.

[5] The nomination of Jarenton took place at the Council of Autun on Friday, October 15, 1077. The monks of Chaise-Dieu, who wished to retain their abbot, obtained that, if the election were not ratified by the time of the council closing on the following Sunday, it should be considered void; but the messengers of the Bishop of Langres and the Duke of Burgundy made such haste, that having left Autun on the 15th, after the sitting of the council, they returned on Sunday the 17th with the monks of St. Benigne, who ratified the election, and assisted the same day at the consecration of the new abbot. Notwithstanding the improvement in the modes of communication, nothing better could be done in the present day.

seen the candidate proposed to them; but they accepted him with enthusiasm, happy to return to the regularity and authority which had not existed since the death of their illustrious and rigid Abbot William. Jarenton fulfilled the general expectation; he re-established order and earnestness in his abbey, whither flocked men of all conditions, great and small;[1] and he distinguished himself by an ardent and faithful attachment to Gregory. The pontiff quickly appreciated the new abbot; he loved him tenderly, and called him his companion in slavery, because they had both suffered much for the cause of justice.[2] After having brought Robert Guiscard to Rome,[3] Jarenton accompanied Gregory into his exile at Salerno, and quitted him only a few days before his death, in order to fulfil a mission in Spain.[4] The abbot of St. Benigne carried with him on his journey the last and most sublime of the apostolic letters of Gregory VII.—a letter in which that great man himself gives, in immortal lines, his own history and his own apology.[5]

Gregory was nobly supported by three French monks. Bernard, Abbot of St. Victor, at Marseilles, was at the head of 600 monks, when the Pope recalled him, first to govern his own monastery of San Paul fuori le mura at Rome, and afterwards to send him as legate to Spain and Germany. It was this Bernard who presided at the Diet of Forchheim, where the German princes deposed Henry IV., and replaced him by Rodolphe of Suabia, the intimate

[1] "Cœperunt ad ejus monita multi nobilium et mediocrium sua relinquere, et regulari disciplinæ se subdere, seque abnegantes sub ejus ducatu Deo regi uni et vero militare."—HUG. FLAV., p. 202.

[2] "Domino papæ per omnia fidelissimus. Quem pro ingenito sibi bonitate et obedientia debita B. Petro dulcissimo amplectebatur affectu, adeo ut concaptivum eum vocaret, quia non eum movebant pericula pro justitia suscepta."—*Ibid.*, p. 229.

[3] "Qui principem adduxit. . . ."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Imposita ei legatione . . . dans litteras ad Sisenandum principem præfatæ provinciæ."—*Ibid.*, p. 230.

[5] *Ibid.*—*Regist.*, Append. ii. 15.

friend of Gregory. Bernard, Abbot of St. Victor, became the chief intermediary between Gregory VII. and the insurgent Saxons, and was able to confound the falsehoods and artifices by which the imperialists hoped to trouble their alliance.[1] Doubly a confessor, he endured prison and exile for the faith.[2] While he was in the imperial dungeons, Pope Gregory VII., writing to the monks of Marseilles, spoke of him in these words: "For love of the blessed Peter, your abbot has been obedient even unto captivity, and would have been so to the death had it been needful. Very rare are those good soldiers who serve God in the midst of peace; but still rarer are those who, for love of their Lord, brave persecution, and resist His enemies without trembling. Such a one is your father, who, like a true friend of the prince of the apostles, has always fought side by side with us, without for a moment turning aside from the battle."[3]

The companion of Bernard of St. Victor in his office as legate and in his captivity was the Norman Guitmond, who had shown equal disinterestedness and boldness in presence of William the Conqueror, and whom Gregory had named Cardinal and Archbishop of Aversa.[4] The two legates were both imprisoned by a partisan of Henry IV., in spite of the promise given by that prince to the Pope at Canossa. The

[1] "Mendaciorum destructor non defessus, et sinceræ veritatis testis revere idoneus . . . quem pro incomparabili tantarum virtutum industria intimum familiarem necnon præ cæteris omnibus revere sibi dilectissimum Domnus papa unice sibi prærogavit."—BERTHOLDI, *Annal.*, ann. 1078–79, ap. PERTZ, pp. 313 and 324.

[2] "Ob instantissimum fidei calorem, bis confessor factus, propter Dominum exilia, compedesque est perpessus."—PAUL BERNRIED, ap. GRETSER, p. 142.

[3] "Pro B. Petri amore factus est obediens usque ad corporis captionem, et paratus fuit, si oporteret, mori. . . . Rari sunt boni qui etiam Deo in pace serviant: sed rarissimi, qui pro illius amore persecutiones non timeant, vel qui se contra inimicos Dei indubitanter opponant. . . . Prædictus pater vester, revera apostolorum principem diligens, in ejus acie nobis adhæsit. . . ."—Book vi. ep. 15. Bernard died 1079.

[4] PAUL BERNRIED, *Vit. S. Greg. VII.*, ap. GRETSER, vi. 151.

venerable prisoners only obtained their liberty through the energetic intervention of Abbot Hugh of Cluny; they returned, despoiled and almost naked, to the monastery of Hirschau.[1] Richard, who, like his brother Bernard, was a cardinal, replaced him as Abbot of St. Victor at Marseilles, and legate in Spain. There, according to the wish of the Pope, he succeeded in substituting the Roman liturgy for the Mozarabic ritual. Faithful to Gregory's maxim, that it is better to build up and preserve than to create and enlarge,[2] Richard afterwards devoted himself to the restoration and reformation of the principal Spanish monasteries.

In speaking of the conversions which did honour to the feudal nobility of this epoch, we have already pointed out several monks as the most faithful auxiliaries of Gregory VII.: for example, in Belgium, the penitent knights who founded Afflighem; and Arnold de Pamèle, who became a monk of St. Medard, Bishop of Forssom, and Gregory's legate in Flanders, and who, immediately after the death of the Pope, hastened back to his monastery to die. We must add to these glorious names that of Thierry, Abbot of St. Hubert, who went seven times to Rome, and with whom Gregory passed whole days alone, talking over the affairs of the Church and the sentiments of mutual affection which united them.[3]

In Italy, above all, the work of regeneration undertaken by Hildebrand was, to tell the truth, carried out by the monks alone. These champions of the Catholic reaction came forth from the inaccessible and solitary monasteries of

[1] "Vacui et ferme nuduli."—BERTHOLDI, ann. 1077, ap. PERTZ, v. 298.

[2] "Scitis enim decentius atque convenientius esse, destructa restruere et ad gradum suum collapsa reducere, quam in dilatandis, vel noviter ædificandis operam dare."—*Diploma of* 1080 *to Richard*, for the reformation of Montmajour and of Notre Dame de la Grasse.

[3] "Pariter soli confidentes, amica vicissitudine divinis eloquiis intendentes" (in the chapel of St. Laurence).—*Hist. Andagin.*, in *Ampliss. Collect.*, vol. iv.

Camaldoli, Vallombrosa, and Fonte-Avellana, armed against the simoniacs and Nicolaitans of Lombardy.[1]

The sons of St. Romuald, the companions of St. Peter Damien, and of St. John Gualbert, the three great Italian reformers of the Monastic Orders in the eleventh century, drew, from the unequalled austerity of their life, the energy necessary for triumphing over the corruptions which surrounded them. Peter Damien, the faithful fellow-labourer of Hildebrand, died a year before his friend's accession to the papacy; and John Gualbert followed during the year in which Gregory VII., whom he had never seen,[2] but whom nevertheless he loved like a brother,[3] having recognised in him a soul worthy of his own, ascended the papal throne. Gualbert had admitted into the new order he had founded many pious laymen, who, without adopting the monastic dress, lived in celibacy, devoted themselves to the material interests of the congregation,[4] and sowed the good seed in the midst of secular life: beside this, he had led many priests to leave their wives and live in communities.[5] Dying, he left many disciples, both clerks and monks, animated by his own spirit; and Gregory took care to encourage them to stand against the quibbles of heretics and the machinations of the devil, by promising them all the moral and material support he could give. Among this elect troop were distinguished the blessed Andrew of Vallombrosa, biographer of the martyr Arialdus;[6] and St. Peter Igneus, whom we have seen winning his surname, and braving martyrdom by fire, in opposing simony. This monk, sprung from one of the most illustrious houses of

[1] See ALZOG, *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 200, translation of Goschler and Audley.

[2] "Licet patrem vestrum corporeis oculis non viderimus, . . . multum dileximus."—*Epist. ad monach. Vall. umbrosæ*, in Append., *Regest.*, p. 2.

[3] "Tantus inter utrumque deinceps firmatus est amor quantus inter amicos carissimos et uterinos solet esse germanos."—*Vit. S. Joann. Gualb.*, c. 54, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 281.

[4] *Vit. S. J. Gualb.*, c. 21, *loc. cit.*

[5] *Ibid.*, c. 31.

[6] Ap. BOLL., *Act. SS.*, 27 Jun.

Florence, began by keeping the cows and asses of his monastery.[1] Gregory made him a cardinal, Bishop of Albano, and legate in Germany, at the most critical moment of the struggle, in 1079, when it was needful to pronounce decidedly between Henry and Rodolph, the two competitors for royalty,[2] and when the Pope was betrayed by the two bishops whom he had associated with Peter in the legation.[3]

Monte Cassino, the cradle of monastic rule, the most illustrious abbey of Italy and of the world, could not be left out during the progress of the great movement of Catholic regeneration begun by Hildebrand. There dwelt in 1057 three monks of very noble birth, bound to each other and to Hildebrand by the tenderest friendship: these were,—Frederic, brother of the Duke of Lorraine; Didier, of the princes of Benevento; and Alfano, of the princes of Salerno. The first, Frederic, had given up the dignity of Chancellor of the Roman Church, on his return from Constantinople to take the vows of a monk at Monte Cassino, where he became abbot previous to his being elected Pope under the name of Stephen X.: it was he who, according to common belief, created Hildebrand Archdeacon of the Roman Church. The second, Didier, succeeded Stephen as Abbot of Monte Cassino, and afterwards became the successor of Gregory VII. himself, as Pope, under the name of Victor III. On the day after his election, Gregory, ill and exhausted by the crisis of the preceding day,[4] wrote to Didier, begging that prayers might be made for him by all the monks, and that Didier himself would come to him immediately. Throughout his pontificate, the Pope always had in him the most

[1] "Diu procurator asinorum, postea vaccarum fuit."—*Vit. S. Joan. Gualb.*, c. 15.

[2] He only died in 1089. "In causa S. Petri ferventissimus magnum mœrorem catholicis reliquit."—BERNOLD, ap. PERTZ, v. 449.

[3] These were, the Patriarch of Aquilea and the Archbishop of Passau.—BERTHOLD, ann. 1079, ap. PERTZ, v. 318. Cf. HUG. FLAVIN., pp. 221, 222.

[4] "In lecto jacens valde fatigatus satis dictare nequeo . . . et itaque rogo ut suffraganeos fratres et filios, quos in Christo nutris, ad exorandum pro me provoces."—*Epist.*, i. 1.

devoted of friends and ministers; and considered him worthy to be one of the four monks whom he pointed out as candidates for the succession.

The third of Gregory's lieutenants was Alfano, chiefly remarkable for his zeal for study, whom affection for Didier had drawn into the monastic life. Alfano had left Salerno where his family reigned, disguised in the cowl of his friend, who brought him to Monte Cassino, where they both became monks, to the great joy of the Abbot Frederic. The destiny of Alfano was less brilliant than that of his two friends: in fact, he did not remain long in the cloister; the Prince of Salerno withdrew him from it to make him archbishop of that city, which he governed admirably for twenty-seven years, continuing meantime to occupy himself ardently with literary and theological labours, and with the study of music, poetry, &c. He was the principal founder of the celebrated school of medicine at Salerno; but he always remained a monk in his devotion to rule and to the holy cause of the freedom of the Church.[2]

We have seen in what poetic and passionate tones Alfano celebrated the greatness of the Cardinal Hildebrand; who, when he became Pope, always found him one of his most steadfast auxiliaries. It was with him, at Salerno, that Gregory, obliged to fly from Rome, found an asylum, and breathed his last sigh. Alfano died a few months later, and desired to be buried beside his friend, the immortal exile.[3]

Monte Cassino gave Gregory yet other supporters: first, Stephen, Cardinal of St. Chrisogone, three times legate in

[1] "Cuculla sua indutum noctu de civitate ducens."—LEO OSTIENS., *Chron. Cassin.*, iii. c. 7.

[2] "Ferventissimum monachum acerrimumque ecclesiasticæ libertati propugnatorem."

[3] MABILL., *Annal.*, b. lxvi. c. 135. The authors of the Chronicle of Monte Cassino are never tired of eulogising the learning of Alfano (*Prolog.*): "Viro nostrorum temporum sapientissimo. . . . Vir in Scripturis sacris eruditissimus. . . ."—Lib. iii. c. 35. GIESEBRECHT, *De litt. stud. ap. Italos*, has collected valuable information about Alfano. Cf. *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 590; and ZIEGELBAUER, pars ii. c. 3.

France,[1] who was so closely bound in sympathy with Gregory, that St. Peter Damien wrote to both at the same time, calling them "steadfast bucklers" of the Holy See:[2] Amatus, a monk of Monte Cassino, afterwards Archbishop of Bordeaux, and, as legate in France, comrade in the glorious labours of Hugh of Die;[3] Alberic, cardinal-deacon, who, at the Council of Rome in 1079, confounded the heresiarch Berengarius, and who wrote, beside many other works, a treatise against the Emperor Henry IV. in defence of the free election of the popes;[4] and lastly, Bremon of Asti, one of the many monks who refuted Berengarius, created Bishop of Segni by Gregory VII., and whom we shall find later at the head of the defenders of the Holy See.[5]

It is thus apparent that Monte Cassino was for the Roman Church an inexhaustible nursery of canonists, prelates, and missionaries.

Besides the illustrious monastery and the new religious houses, Gregory found useful and generous fellow-labourers in the old Italian abbeys, such as Gepizonus, abbot of St. Boniface, and Chaurus, abbot of St. Sabas, who were his legates in Italy, and possessed his full confidence;[6] Murus

[1] Under Nicholas II., Alexander II., and Gregory VII. See MABILL., *Annal.*, b. lx. No. 85; b. lxi. c. 15, 62, 81; and b. lxii. c. 106.

[2] "Inexpugnabilibus romanæ ecclesiæ clypeis Domno Suo Hildebrando et dulcissimo patri Stephano, Petrus," &c.—B. ii. ep. vi.

[3] BALUZE, *præf.* in vol. ii., *Miscell.*

[4] He died in 1089. PETR. DIAC., *De viris illust. Cassin.*, c. 21, ap. MURAT., vi. Cf. MABILL., *Ann.*, vol. v. p. 139; ZIEGELBAUER, *Hist. litt. O. S. B.*, vol. ii. part iii. p. 93.

[5] Writers are not agreed as to the period at which this monk took the habit at Monte Cassino. Cf. MABILL., *Annal.*, b. xxv. c. 53; PETR. DIAC., *Chron. Cassin.*, b. iv. c. 31. It is sad to have to disfigure this enumeration by the name of an apostate, Theodinus, of a noble Frank family, son of the Count of the country of Marses, a monk of Monte Cassino, made cardinal by Nicholas II., and archdeacon by Gregory VII., and who, after the defeat of the Pope, went over to the party of the emperor.—BENNO, *Apol. pro Henr. IV.*, c. 2; GIESEBRECHT, *Op.*, i. p. 45.

[6] *Regest. Greg. VII.*, b. vi. ep. 40, 41, 48. Gepizonus was sent to invest the Prince of Dalmatia with the royal dignity.

Benedictus, the charitable abbot of St. Michael of Chiusa, who had been expelled from his monastery by the schismatic Bishop of Turin, and imprisoned by the Emperor on account of his fidelity to Gregory; Borrizonus, a Lombard monk, Bishop first of Sutri, afterwards of Piacenza, who, after having energetically served the Church by his writings and eloquent sermons—after having endured, like most of the Catholic champions of the time, prison and exile for the cause of the Church—died, slain by his people, and a martyr to his devotion to the Church's liberties.[1]

But among the orthodox Italian monks, none played a more important part than St. Anselm of Lucca. Gregory had been the master and friend in his youth of this Tuscan noble,[2] who at the same time formed a most tender friendship for Hugh, the Bishop-elect of Die, whom he had met at Rome when he went, like Hugh, to be consecrated there after his elevation to the episcopate.

The union of these two young prelates was so intimate, and their life so inseparable, that Censius, the zealous Prefect of Rome, called one the day and the other the light, "Because," he said, "as we never see the day without the light, so we never see Hugh without Anselm."[3]

King Henry IV. thought it his duty to protest against

[1] BERNOLD, *Chron.*, in 1082 and 1089, ap. PERTZ. His nose and ears were cut before he was killed. He has left a narrative entitled *Liber ad amicum*, an important document for the history of the time, ap. ŒFELE, *Script. rer. Boic.*, vol. ii. There is also an excellent notice of this work in STENTZEL, *Hist. des. emp. franc.*, ii. 67, 80. The importance of the part played by Bonizo in the north of Italy is proved by the exhortations addressed by the schismatic Cardinal Benzo to Henry IV. to engage him to punish the audacity of the orthodox bishop.—*Panegyr. in Henric. Imp.*, ap. MENCKE, i. p. 971.

[2] "Indigena et nobilis prosapiæ."—*Vit. S. Anselm a B. presbyt. ejus discip. a pœnitent.*, c. 15, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix.

[3] "Cum hoc tanto familiaritatis et dilectionis vinculo connexus est, et ita sibi, licet divisa haberent hospitia, in Palatio Lateranensi individui adhærebant, ut unum videri sine altero, mirum videretur his, qui eorum noverant unanimitatem. Adeo ut urbis præfectus . . . alterum horum diem, alterum vocavit lucem," &c.—HUGO FLAVINIAC, p. 195, ap. LABB.

the consecration of these two bishops, illegally elected, he declared, before having received investiture from his hands; and the imperialist cardinals supported his claim. Gregory, making a distinction between the authority of the emperor in Italy and in the kingdom of Arles, where Die was situated, would not yield with reference to Hugh, whom he immediately consecrated,[1] but consented to defer the consecration of Anselm until he should have received investiture. Meantime, at the very moment when the Bishop-elect of Lucca was on his way to fulfil this formality in the presence of Henry IV., Gregory, in the Council of 1075, gave his first decree against investitures. Anselm speedily returned to receive his consecration from the Pope; but after a short time, feeling remorse for having submitted to the shameful yoke from which Gregory was trying to free the episcopate, he desired to lay aside a dignity which he thought dishonoured by his investiture,[2] and determined to become a monk. To this, however, Gregory VII. would not consent; in spite of Anselm's eager resistance, he obliged him to resume the burden of episcopacy, while permitting him to wear the Benedictine dress, and to follow the customs of Cluny.[3] Obedience alone could console the prelate for having quitted monastic life, which he unceasingly regretted,[4] scrupulously practising at the same time its most austere observances in the midst of camps or at the court of the Countess Matilda. When this great princess placed herself entirely at the disposal of the Pope,

[1] "In Lucensi tamen electo eis adquievit. . . . In Diensi vero adquiescere noluit."—HUG. FLAV., p. 196.

[2] "Nam irritum prorsus æstimavit, quidquid operatus est, quasi auctoritate illius abominabilis investituræ."—*Vit. S. Anselm*, c. 3. We think that in our account we have reconciled the varying versions of Anselm's penitentiary and of Hugh of Flavigny.

[3] "Vix relicto sibi habitu monastico. . . . Nam et illium substrahere sibi dominus papa minabatur."—*Ibid.*, c. 4, DONNIZO, *Vit. Mathild.*

[4] "Dum vitam rememoravit monasticam, quam se crebro deflevit amisisse, consolatus in eodem magistro est, quia obediens sibi usque ad id factus est."—*Vita*, c. 26.

hoping that he would bid her embrace conventual life,[1] Gregory gave her Anselm as guide and counsellor. It was he who directed the Countess's spiritual and political life, and who made her the most constant and active ally of the Holy See. He exercised such influence over her, that her vassals feared him more than they did the princess herself.[2] Anselm had studied everything; he knew almost the whole of the Scriptures by heart;[3] and he served the Catholic cause as much by his writings and sermons as by his indefatigable activity and his constant presence in the camp of Matilda.[4] Like the holy pontiff whom he endeavoured to take in all things for his model,[5] Anselm had to suffer persecution and exile; but he succeeded with the support of Matilda, and in his character of papal legate, in maintaining orthodoxy among the Catholics of the north of Italy, and in procuring for them that spiritual help of which they had been deprived by the defection of their ordinary pastors.[6] He succeeded also in re-establishing the observance of the rule in the churches and monasteries of Matilda's vast states,[7] employing the most energetic measures for this purpose; in his opinion it was better for the Church to have no priests or monks than to have scandalous ones.[8]

[1] "Quod totam se suæ tradidit dispositioni, sperans ab oneribus mundi hujus tali obedientia explicari."—*Vita*, c. 12.

[2] "Illa potestatem exercebat, ille regebat. Illa præceptum et ille dedit consilium."—*Vit. S. Anselm.*, c. 18. "Milites domus illius, etsi nimium seculares, . . . plus ipsum quam naturalem dominam metuentes."—*Ibid.*, c. 24.

[3] "Omnem Sanctam Scripturam fere memoriter novit . . . multos libellos propriis manibus conscripsit."—*Ibid.*, c. 21. His defence of Gregory is to be found in the *Antiq. Lectiones* of Canisus, vol. vi.

[4] "Cum hoste in campo."—*Vit.*, c. 23.

[5] "Ante omnia id studii semper habuit quatenus primum magistrum suum papam Gregorium imitaretur in omnibus, adeo ut discrepare ab illo prorsus noluit."—*Ibid.*, c. 26.

[6] "Per omnem Longobardiam . . . concurrunt catholici . . . absolutionem accipiunt: ibi chrisma, ibi sacros ordines exquirunt."—C. 20.

[7] "Per singulas ecclesias in omni supra dictæ dominæ terra."—C. 24.

[8] "Malle se ut in Ecclesia nullus esset vel clericus vel monachus quam irregularis et irreligiosus."—*Ibid.*

In Germany, where the struggle was to be still longer and more bloody than in Italy, it was not by legates and by foreign monks, whether French or Italian, alone, that the Pope could contend against the evil. It was needful to find among native monks a numerous and disciplined army; but nothing could be less probable than the success of such an attempt. We have more than once indicated the point to which simony and disorder had invaded the German monasteries during the first half of the eleventh century. The minority of Henry IV. had brought to its depth the abasement of the regular clergy. The unworthy minister of the young king, Adalbert, Bishop of Bremen, who sold all ecclesiastical and secular dignities to the highest bidder, thought it necessary to act with prudence in respect to the bishops and great lay vassals; but he made his prey of the monasteries, which he considered only as royal domains, the abbots of which might be treated as simple farmers. Filled with this idea, the sovereign imposed no restraint on his exactions, and he appropriated to himself two of the principal German abbeys, after having given others to different princes and prelates of whom he wished to make accomplices.[1] The evil only increased when Henry IV. began to govern for himself. The imperial palace then became a sort of market where the king publicly sold the abbatial dignity without any other consideration than that of the price the buyers might offer.[2] Thus the prince's favourite, Robert, surnamed the Money-changer,[3] bought, for a thousand livres, the illustrious Abbey of

[1] The Archbishop of Bremen took for himself Lorsch and Corvey, gave Malmédy and Cornelimünster to the Archbishop of Cologne, Seligenstadt to the Archbishop of Mayence, Isitaïch to the Duke of Bavaria, Kempten to the Duke of Suabia.—LAMBERT., *loc. cit.*

[2] "Ut abbatiæ publice venales prostituantur in palatio, nec quisquam tanti venales proponere queat, quin protinus emptorem inveniat . . . nec quæratur ex abbatibus eligendis, quis dignius præesse, sed quis carius abbatiam possit emere."—*Id.*, ann. 1071, ap. PERTZ., v. 184.

[3] Nummularius.

Reichenau,[1] and offered a hundred livres of gold for the Abbey of Fulda, the first in Germany, of which the abbot was still living. This, however, made no scandal, although Robert was himself a monk, for it must be owned the monks of the German communities had suffered from the contagion of those vices which stained most of the churches. In the front rank of the simoniacal clergy who infested the imperial court figured unworthy monks, who openly begged for bishoprics or abbeys, promising the king, as a contemporary historian says, mountains of gold.[2] In these sacrilegious sales the avidity of the sellers did not exceed the ardent covetousness of the buyers;[3] it was wonderful to see the riches displayed by men who had taken the vow of poverty.[4] This horrible scandal brought upon the heads of the German monks such ignominy, that the innocent were confounded with the guilty. Henry IV. himself was sometimes revolted by the effrontery of these speculators, and took advantage of it from time to time to bestow important abbeys without price upon the first monk who presented himself, without paying any attention to the electoral rights of the community, or to those of the knights and vassals of the monasteries who were also entitled to take part in the election of the abbots to whom they were subject.[5]

[1] He did not, however, succeed in installing himself. The monks shut their doors against him, and Pope Alexander excommunicated him.

[2] "Hi pro abbatiis et episcopalibus aures principum importune obtundebant. . . . In coemptionem exigui honoris aureos montes quotidie promittebant seculares que emptores largitionis suæ immoderantia excludebant, nec tantum venditor audebat exposcere quantum emptor paratus erat exsolvere."—LAMBERT. ASCHAFFENB., ann. 1071, ap. PERTZ, v. 186. See the passage of the same author already quoted.

[3] "Mirabatur mundus unde tantus pecuniarum scateret fluvius. . . ." —*Ibid.*

[4] "Totum sacri gregis quasi tabe quadam infecerant. . . . Ita ut omnes similes existemaremur, nec esse in nobis putaretur qui faceret bonum, non esse usque ad unum."—*Ibid.*

[5] See as to Lorsch and Fulda, LAMBERT., ann. 1075, ap. PERTZ, v. 237. Cf. TRITHEMIUS, vol. i. p. 212, on the demoralisation of the ancient and famous Abbey of Fulda: "In illo tempore vix monastico nomine digni videbantur."

Thus freedom of election was almost destroyed; and with it had perished all the virtues and all the rules which it had secured. But we shall see how, by an admirable exercise of His mercy, God permitted a complete and glorious renovation of the monastic body to arise out of the very bosom of corruption. This renovation was accomplished at the very moment when war broke out between the Church and the empire; so that the first fervour of the reformed institution came to the help of the threatened Church. It was in great part the work of the holy and illustrious Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, who, notwithstanding the inferiority of his birth, by the mere fact of his merit alone attained to the first place in the government of the empire during the reign of Henry III. and the minority of Henry IV.[1]

Hanno, however, had at first yielded to the contagion of example, and at the instigation of Adalbert of Bremen had tried to usurp the Abbey of Malmédy, which from time immemorial had been a dependency of Stavelot, and which was saved only by the energetic resistance of the Liégeois.[2] But, on the other hand, he had founded and richly endowed the Abbey of Regberg, under the impression produced upon his mind during a sleepless night by the singing of matins at the convent of St. Martin at Cologne.[3] At a time when his mind was painfully disturbed by the corruption of the German monks, he stopped, while travelling to Rome, to perform his devotions at Frutières[4]—a Piedmontese monastery depending on Cluny, where his former rival, the Empress

[1] "Nulla majorum commendatione, erat quippe mediocri loco natus."—LAMBERT., ann. 1075.

[2] See the interesting account of this struggle, entitled *Triumphus S. Remacli*, ap. CHAPEAUVILLE, *Gesta Epit. Leodens.*, vol. ii. Cf. MARTÈNE, *Ampliss. collectio*, vol. i. p. 487; and STENTZEL, i. 224.

[3] In 1066. *Vit. S. Hannonis*, i. 18-23, ap. SURIUM, die 4 Decemb. This life, written by a monk of Siegberg, a contemporary of the archbishop, is full of valuable details.

[4] "Cum . . . cerneret . . . monachos e vita communi ad rem familiarem curam omnem studiumque conversos, gravi tædio angebatur animus ejus."—LAMBERT., ann. 1075; PERTZ, v. 238.

Agnes of Poitou, mother of Henry IV., had taken the veil, and was endeavouring to expiate by her austerities the excesses of her son.[1] Hanno was so touched by the fervour and regular life of the monks of Frutières, that he took several of them with him to place them in the monasteries he had already founded in Germany, at Siegberg and Saalfeld, whence the unworthy monks had just been expelled.[2] The monks of Frutières, transplanted to their new dwellings, there gave an example of all monastic virtues, and made many proselytes. Archbishop Hanno, filled with joy and admiration at the sight, loaded the new-comers with tokens of respect; he treated them as his lords, and wished to be considered as their serf. In the midst of the greatest affairs he often visited his *protégés*, whose rule he strictly observed, and occupied himself with the minutest care about the details of their living and comfort.[3] Led on by his example, many German bishops and princes demanded monks from Siegberg to re-establish the observance of the rule in the monasteries of their states; others brought them from Cluny and from Gorze in Lorraine.[4] The austerities of these monks soon procured them an immense popularity, and their renown quickly spread through all Germany. The degenerate inhabitants of the old monasteries, seeing themselves in danger of being recalled to the strict observance of their rule, deserted their cloisters in bands of thirty, forty,

[1] See the fine account of her monastic penitence in BERTHOLD, ann. 1077, ap. PERTZ, v. 303. She died at Rome in 1077, after having completely embraced the cause of Gregory, who presided at her funeral.

[2] He had founded a third abbey of monks at Gratschaff, and two of regular canons at St. Mary *ad gradus* and at St. George, in his metropolitan city.

[3] "Honorabat et venerabatur ut dominos suos . . . ita subditus dictoque obtemperans, ut ad primum eorum imperium, quantumlibet gravibus publicæ seu privatæ rei negotiis ampliatus, illico ex occupatis manibus surgeret: et omne quod jussissent instar vili mancipii exequeretur. Cibum summa industria confectos quotidie . . . inferebat, ipse apponebat . . . potum miscebat," &c.—PERTZ, p. 239.

[4] *Ibid.*, 1071 and 1075, pp. 188 and 238.—*Vit. S. Hannonis*, c. 23.

or fifty at a time;[1] and those who wished to remain without conforming to the rule of the ultramontanists, as they said,[2] were ignominiously expelled. In this way, during the five or six years preceding the accession of Gregory VII. to the pontifical throne, all the monasteries of the north of Germany were reformed and peopled by a pure and faithful race.[3]

A similar but yet more fruitful revolution took place at the same time in the monasteries of southern Germany, and especially in Suabia. This revolution had for its chief centre the Black Forest—that *Sylva Hercynia* so dreaded by the Romans, which, pierced by roads and partly cleared by the monks, had become since the eighth century a vast Benedictine colony.[4] The Piedmontese Abbey of Frutières, whence Archbishop Hanno of Cologne had drawn his first reformers, shared with the great Burgundian Abbey of Cluny the honour of having contributed to this rapid regeneration. It was a German Pope, Leo IX., himself a monk, and the first upon whom the influence of Hildebrand acted, who shed new life over the Suabian monasteries. He it was who, when travelling in Germany about 1050, by

[1] "Magna et præclara de illis vulgi opinione jactarentur. . . . Hæc opinio principum . . . ad populum derivatus tumor tantum terroris . . . injecit, ut ad ingressum eorum alias XXX., alias XL., alias L. monachi austerioris vitæ metu scandalizati de monasteriis abscederent."—LAMBERT., *ibid.*, p. 188.

[2] "Principes . . . transalpinos monachos evocabant; nostrates autem quicumque in illorum instituta ultro concedere noluissent, de monasteriis cum ignominia ejiciebant."—LAMBERT. Lambert, a monk of Hersfeld, who has preserved for us this valuable information, went to spend fourteen weeks with the new monks of Saalfeld to learn their customs: in spite of his orthodoxy, he cannot conceal a certain bitterness against the newcomers.

[3] "Adeoque brevi convaluit felicis facti æmulatio, ut pauca inter Galliam monasteria videamus quæ non jam . . . jugum receperant."—*Ibid.*, p. 238; *Vit. S. Hannonis, loc. cit.*

[4] See the important collection entitled *Hist. Nigræ Silvæ ord. S. Bened. Coloniæ*, op. et stud.; MARTINI GERBERTI, *Monast. S. Blazii in ead. Silva abb. S. Q. R. I. P.* S. Blazii, 1783. 2 vols., 4to.

his strong remonstrances obliged his nephew, Count Adalbert of Calw, to re-establish the illustrious Abbey of Hirschau, founded by one of his ancestors,[1] famous in the ninth century for the cultivation of science and the care given to public instruction,[2] but ruined in the last fifty years by an unworthy descendant of the founder.[3] Twelve monks of Einsiedlen, in Switzerland, came in 1066 to repeople the ancient abbey;[4] and Count Adalbert, who had only been persuaded to undertake the work of reparation by the entreaties of his wife, the pious Wilicza, a Polish princess,[5] ended by assuming the monk's robe with them.[6] After this restoration, the monastery of Hirschau not only regained its former splendour, but greatly surpassed it. Under its illustrious and holy Abbot William—who introduced, with some modifications, the customs of Cluny, and established a strict association between the two abbeys[7]—

[1] Erlafrid, Count of Calw, in 830.

[2] TRITHEMIUS, *Ann. Hirsaug.*, vol. i. p. 12.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 132, 146. See, in TRITHEMIUS, 187, 189, the account of this restoration. The holy Pope Leo IX., during a walk in the neighbourhood of his nephew's castle, struck by the solitary beauty of the site, expressed the regret he felt that he could not see there a monastery where the praises of God might be sung day and night. The count acknowledged that there had been one formerly, of which there still remained a half-ruined church, where the bones of St. Aurelien, in whose honour the monastery had been built, must have been buried. The Pope visited this deserted church; he found there an old priest who had known the former monks, and who told him how the avarice of his nephew's grandfather had ruined the abbey. Leo caused men to dig, and found the tomb of St. Aurelien; then, on his return to the castle, he addressed Count Adalbert solemnly and publicly, enjoining him to re-establish the monastery under pain of damnation.

[4] The restoration was seriously undertaken only nine years after the promise extorted by Leo IX. in 1059.

[5] The daughter of the Duke of Poland, the Countess Wilicza or Wiltrude, did not let her husband have a moment's peace: "Ut quem blandimentis et precibus emollire non poterat, saltem importunitate superaret." —TRITHEM., pp. 205–213. Cf. 243 and 245. It was she who obtained also from her husband the territorial enfranchisement of the abbey.

[6] BERNOLD, ann. 1099.

[7] "Arctissimus nexus."—GERBERT., vol. i. p. 281.

Hirschau rose to the first rank among the great monastic establishments of Europe, and became for Germany what Monte Cassino was for Italy, and Cluny for France.[1] The latter house was the one which, in all Christendom, had most nobles among its monks, and most communities depending on it.[2] Ninety monasteries, founded or reformed by colonies of monks sent out from Cluny, and all situated in the south of Germany, formed around the great Suabian abbey a magnificent and powerful congregation. Twenty-three of these houses of God owed their creation to Hirschau; the seventy-four others previously existing were regenerated by the salutary influence of monks from thence.[3] The holy Abbot William, author of most of these reforms and creations, rebuilt at once the monastic edifices and consciences;[4] nor did he stop there, but applied himself to establish a bond of union and of common activity between all these monasteries: he upheld, with jealous solicitude and persistent severity, the power of the mother abbey over her colonies;[5] and in spite of continual emigrations, he was able to keep always one hundred and fifty monks about him,[6] replacing by secular converts the monks whom he sent out for the conquest of foreign monasteries.

Not far from Hirschau, two other considerable abbeys—those of Schaffhausen and St. Blaise—distinguished themselves by their admirable obedience to the rule. The holy Pope Leo IX. came in 1052 to consecrate the high altar of each of them.[7] Schaffhausen had been founded by Count Eberhard of Nellemburg, who had become a monk there, and it had been placed in subjection to Hirschau in 1080

[1] BUCELIN., *German. topo-chrono-stemmatograph.*, vol. i. p. 5.

[2] TRITHEM., p. 225.

[3] BUCELIN., *op. cit.*, p. 191, and TRITHEM., *Prolegom.*, p. 9; *Chron.*, pp. 225–227, 266–281, and 294. Trithemius gives an interesting though somewhat confused account of the heads of each colony.

[4] "Reformans non solum ædificia . . . sed etiam domos . . . et conscientias monachorum."—TRITHEM., p. 227.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 235.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 227.

[7] GERBERT., *Hist. Nigr. Silv.*, vol. i. pp. 204 and 263.

by the son of its founder. The origin of St. Blaise went back to the eighth century; but its true founder was Reginbert of Sellenbeuven, one of the feudatories of Otho the Great, who, having lost one of his hands in battle, endowed the abbey with all his property in 945, and himself entered it as a monk.[1] At the period of which we are speaking, towards 1060, St. Blaise was reformed by monks from Frutières,[2] with the aid of the Empress Agnes; afterwards it was associated with Hirschau, and finally affiliated to Cluny after a visit paid to it by the holy Abbot Hugh.[3]

Scarcely had these great houses been called to a new life when they became, with other monasteries, the chief support of the Catholic cause in Germany[4]—all the more powerful that, by a strange phenomenon, the very success of the schism of the simoniacal and married priests, and the seduction they exercised over certain Catholics, produced a prodigious reactionary movement. On all sides the ancient monasteries awoke and revived, and new communities were formed and populated, thanks to the number of orthodox priests who then sought refuge, and over whom a faithful nobility watched sword in hand.[5] Thus, at the very time when the few bishops who remained in communion with the Church of Rome were driven from their sees,[6] and when the schismatics thought themselves sure of victory, they had in truth gained nothing! The monasteries were there, stand-

[1] He died there in 962.—GERBERT., vol. i. p. 177 *et seq.*

[2] "Disciplina monastica in monasterio S. Blasii ad usus et consuetudinem Fructuariensem est restituta."—*Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 244. Cf. p. 249.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. i. p. 244. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 259.

[5] "Persecutio quoque huic bono cooperata est. Nam dum a civitatibus meliores clerici . . . pellerentur, in silvis ac suburbanis agellis cohabitantes, ubi eos, quibus Deus inspiravit, fideles ac potentes quidam tutati sunt, ea cœperunt conversationis norma degere quam Christo . . . maxime complacitam agnovissent. Sicque in clero et in monachatu apostolicæ vitæ, quæ prima in desertis ac sylvosis locis reviruit, paulatim etiam antiqua et suburbana cœnobia revisit, ejectis inde malis colonis, et in melius commutatis," &c.—REICHERSP., *de Stat. Ecclesiæ*, c. 16.

[6] BERNOLD, *Chr.*, ann. 1087, ap. PERTZ, v. p. 439.

ing like cities of refuge, like fortresses of unconquerable resistance. St. Blaise, Schaffhausen, and, above all, Hirschau,[1] defended by the Dukes of Suabia and Thuringen, opened their doors to all those Catholics, clerical or lay, who repulsed schism and shrank from complicity with the enemies of the Church.[2] Thither came in crowds the Catholic nobles, counts and barons, feudal lords and knights, abandoning their fiefs and castles, to renew their strength at the well-springs of faith and virtue.[3] A certain number afterwards returned to the world, and there with new zeal served the cause of God, the Church, and the monks. But others in such numbers embraced monastic life, that everywhere it was necessary to enlarge the monastic buildings in order to receive them.[4] Mingling with the servants of the monastery, they devoted themselves to the lowest offices, doing the work of bakers, swineherds, and carpenters. Following this example, many laymen of all ranks renounced their possessions and their liberty, to share the life in common of the monasteries, the rules of which they practised rigorously, though without adopting the monkish habit, under the direction of uncon-

[1] "Maxime quotidie multitudo hominum ad S. abbatem Willelmum in Hirsaugiam confluxit, ad serviendum Deo viventi, ut præ copia civium Hirsaugia urbs quædam populosa magis videretur esse quam cœnobium." —TRITHEM., *Chron. Hirsaug.*, p. 279.

[2] "Omnes pene religiosi, sive clerici, sive laici, in aliqua monasteriorum latibula declinaverc, ne devastationem sanctæ Ecclesiæ cernerent, cui in nullo adminiculari possent. . . . Tria monasteria *cum suis cellulis* regularibus disciplinis instituta egregie pollebant. . . . Ad quæ mirabilis multitudo nobilium ac prudentium virorum hac tempestate in brevi confugit, et depositis armis. . . ."— *Ibid.*

[3] "Multi viri boni Deum timentes, comites, barones, milites, nobiles et ignobiles, clerici et laici, divites et mediocres, qui animas suas a communione schismaticorum immaculatas custodire volebant, relictis castellis, domibus et ecclesiis suis, ad monasterium Hirsaugiense, quasi ad civitatem quamdam refugii venerant, quorum plures mutato habitu monachi facti sunt, et plures in habitu pristino Deo et monachis S. Congregationis, usque ad mortem servierunt."—*Ibid.*

[4] BERNOLD, 1083, already quoted, vol. i. p. 499. See many examples in GERBERT., *Hist. Nigr. Silv.*, vol. i. pp. 238–239, 324–325.

taminated priests and monks.[1] Women felt the same irresistible impulse, and hurried in crowds to offer themselves in the character of servants to do the daily work prescribed by the monks.[2] Daughters of labourers rivalled the widows and maidens of noble race in their passionate desire to renounce the world and marriage, and to submit to the yoke of the religious orders. Whole villages embraced the life of the cloister.[3] To all these simple and generous Christians the orthodox Suabian monasteries appeared, says a contemporary, like invincible asylums of peace, like perfumed meadows, where the inhabitants might intoxicate themselves with the sweet odours of a contemplative life.[4]

The great Abbot William of Hirschau regulated as much as possible the impetuous impulse which led laymen thus to abdicate, for love of the heavenly life, their condition of free men and to make themselves slaves to the monks. In conjunction with the Abbot of St. Blaise, William formed these lay affiliations into a permanent institution, and was the first

[1] "In regno Teutonicorum communis vita multis in locis floruit, non solum in clericis et monachis . . . verum etiam in laicis se et sua ad eamdem vitam devotissime offerentibus, qui etsi habitu nec clerici nec monachi videbantur, nequaquam tamen eis dispares in meritis fuisse creduntur. Se enim servos eorumdem pro Domino fecerunt. . . . Se et sua ad congregationes tam clericorum quam monachorum regulariter viventium devotissime contulerunt, ut sub eorum obedientia communiter vivere et eis servire mererentur."—BERNOLD, ann. 1091, ap. PERTZ, v. 453.

[2] "Non solum virorum sed et feminarum innumerabilis multitudo . . . eisque more ancillarum quotidiani servitii pensum devotissime persolverent."—*Ibid.*

[3] "In ipsis quoque villis filiæ rusticorum innumeræ conjugio et sæculo abrenuntiare."—*Ibid.*

"In Alemannia potissimum . . . multæ villæ ex integro se religioni contradiderunt, seque invicem sanctitate morum prævenire incessabiliter studuerunt."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Spiritualia gymnasia monachorum Hirsaug. et Schafhausens, quorum utrumque perfectis pollebat cœnobitis, quasi pratum odoriferum plenum undique areolis aromatum: ac cuncti advenientes theoreticam vitam diligentes jugum Domini suave, et onus ejus leve portare cupientes, utroque loco invenerunt inexpugnabile asylum."—*Passio S. Tiernonis episcop.*, ap. GRETSER, vi. 462, and CANISIUS, *Lect. antiq.*, vol. iii.

in Germany to join to his congregation companies of neophytes without any clerical character, under the title of lay brothers,[1] agreeably to the institution recently established by St. John Gualbert in the order of Vallombrosa. To these lay brothers were assigned special functions nearly connected with ordinary secular life, in order to leave the monks more leisure for the exercises of piety. Freed from the obligations of the choir, of silence, and other duties of cloistral life, the lay brothers gave themselves up specially to mechanical arts;[2] they were the tailors, curriers, shoemakers, smiths, carpenters, and masons of the abbeys. These were the unpaid workmen who constructed the immense monastic buildings of Hirschau, who ornamented them with beautiful works of art, and assisted William to build many other monasteries. They wore the monastic dress, but let their beards grow, which procured them from the people the name of *barbati*. Other laymen attached to the congregation of Hirschau, in imitation of Cluny, bore the name of *oblati*, and lived outside the monasteries. They were employed in building, in clearing forests, in serving the sick poor in hospitals, and in making distant journeys.[3] William allowed them to retain

[1] "Qui ex libera et ingenua conditione ad fratrum obsequium sese dimittant solo vitæ cœlestis intuitu."—UDAL., *Ep. præf. consuet. Cluniac. ad Guill.* "Illuc nonnulli pro amore Christi convenerunt hujus fervoris hujusque humilitatis, ut eis non tam libeat haberi pro monachis quam pro servis monachorum ultro se obtulerunt ad ministerium pistrini, coquinæ," &c.—*Bulla* URBANI ap. II., GERBERT., i. 325. Cf. TRITHEM., ann. 1070, p. 228.

[2] "Ex his erant omnium artium mecanicarum peritissimi operatores, qui omnes totius cœnobii structuras suis manibus summa diligentia consummaverunt. Erant enim fabri lignarii, et ferrarii, catomi quoque et muratores optimi . . . vestiarii, coriarii, calcearii et quidquid artificibus ad usum claustralium requiritur, non mercenarii, non servitores conducti, sed conversi vel monachi barbati fuisse omnes memorantur . . . quorum laboribus adjutus tot monasteria fundavit."—TRITHEM., ann. 1070. Cf. ann. 1083: "Magistri in omni scientia architecturæ peritissimi."—See the special rule given them by St. William, in his Life by Heymon, c. 23; ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix.

[3] "Quorum officium erat pro structuris . . . ligna et lapides adducere,

their secular dress, so that they might more easily mingle with the world.[1]

To the Abbey of Hirschau alone belonged fifty *oblati* and sixty *barbati;* there were one hundred and fifty monks, properly so called, who gave themselves up specially to prayer, study, the transcription of books, and the celebration of divine service. The monastic historian cannot sufficiently praise the order, peace, union, and happiness which, under the illustrious and saintly abbot, reigned throughout the immense *Hirsaugian* community.[2] Later, William obtained a solemn confirmation of his institution by a bull of Pope Urban II.; Odo, Prior of Cluny, and Legate of Gregory VII. in Suabia, had already appreciated the utility of this new branch of the monastic tree.[3]

While these things were passing in the south-west of Germany, and near the sources of the Danube, the same spirit was triumphant in the region which bounded the empire on the side of Hungary, between the Danube and the Noric Alps. Agreeably to the decrees of the Council of Rome, convoked by Hildebrand in 1063, the canons who, while following the rule of St. Augustine, lived, like the Benedictines, in monasteries, and were governed by abbots, were reformed by the illustrious Altmann, Bishop of Passau, one of the most ardent partisans of pontifical authority and monastic obedience in Germany. He succeeded, not without great difficulty, in expelling the debauched and corrupted canons, in replacing them by exemplary monks, and in thus regenerating the abbeys of his order, which abounded in Upper Austria, such as Kremsmunster, St. Polten, and St.

calcem decoquere, aquam et avenam de fluvio portare cæmentum pro muratoribus facere."—TRITHEM., *loc. cit.*

[1] "Manere in pristino habitu permisit, quorum ministerio, in multis uti rationabiliter consuevit, in his maxime, quæ in medio secularium, quo barbatos mittere vel monachos non licebat, peragendi videbantur."—*Ibid.*, p. 229.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 230.

[3] BERNOLD, ann. 1091, ap. PERTZ, v. 433. We may see how rigorously this Pope treated a layman who had broken his vow.—*Ibid.*, p. 1092.

Florian. Having thus purged his field, the good husbandman, as his biographer calls him, obtained an abundant harvest of new virtues. Moreover, he founded, on the confines of the empire, the famous Abbey of Gottweih; and, in his episcopal city, the Abbey of St. Nicholas, the monks of which, by their zeal for the cause of the Church, brought upon themselves public punishment at the hands of the partisans of King Henry IV.[1]

The writings of the time show us that the monks of various reformed monasteries, and especially the lay brothers or *Oblates*,[2] were sent from canton to canton, from diocese to diocese, charged with the most important missions by their direct superiors, or by the legates of the Pope, to the great displeasure of the imperialist bishops, who thus saw their influence over the minds of the people neutralised.[3] Thus

[1] "Pestilentes quosque, et corruptos, et abominabiles factos in studiis suis, de sanctis locis undique proturbat: providens vice illorum religiosos tam prælatos quam discipulos. Inde jam reflorere religio; inde suave redolens redire sanctitatis opinio; inde reverentia exhiberi servis Christi. Hoc tam felici ausu solliciti cultoris, innovata sunt novalia cœnobiorum, et seges fecundior surrexit. . . . Hinc jam domus S. Floriani fructificavit suavitatem odoris, et flores ejus fructus honoris et honestatis," &c.—*Vit. S. Altmanni*, ap. GRETSER, vi. p. 451. See another life of Altmann, mentioned above, Augsburg, 1619, pp. 68–71, for curious details of the bitter resistance offered by the former monks to the reformation. These illustrious houses escaped the confiscation of Joseph II., and still exist in a flourishing and regular state.

[2] It is to these noble converts that we must apply the curious passage of Lambert of Aschaffenburg, where he shows laymen seated beside the papal legates at the Diet of Tribur, 1067, where the fall of Henry IV. was brought about: "Laici nonnulli qui magnis opibus relictis ultro se ad privatam tenuemque vitam propter Deum contulerant, missi a Romano pontifice, ut palam omnibus per Gallias contestarentur justis de causis excommunicatum esse regem Heinricum," &c.—Ap. PERTZ, v. 252.

[3] "Authores schismatum, qui dudum facta sunt in Ecclesia, pariter et in republica, extant præcipue quidam qui dicuntur monachi de Hirsaugia . . . qui enim debuerant se continere intra solitudines monasteriorum egressi sunt ultra terminos et constitutiones Patrum, usurpantes sibi contra divinam ordinationem disponere, imo destruere regnum et sacerdotium, qui mittunt circumquaque angelos verbi sui, prædicantes apud se suosque sectatores esse tantum Ecclesiam Dei et justitiam Dei et sancta

monks travelled over the whole empire, circulating writings in favour of the Church, preaching resistance to schism, and warming the zeal and piety of good Catholics. The imperialists quickly comprehended the strength which orthodoxy would gain from this revival of fervour; and the generous neophytes who peopled the Suabian abbeys became objects of virulent attack by the apologists of the schism, who neglected nothing to destroy the great popularity the monks had gained.[1] The invectives invented by the pagan writers of degenerate Rome,[2] revived by the hatred of the courtier-bishops and of Henry IV. himself, were once more launched against them. The reformed monks were spoken of as vagabonds, missionaries of disorder, and innovators hostile to the empire. The coarsest abuse was mingled with puerile or absurd reproaches. The few monks who remained faithful to the imperial cause, after lamenting that they could not be allowed to follow peaceably what they called *legal tradition* and *national usages*,[3] tried to ridicule the large tonsures, the wide sleeves, and great cowls which St. William had introduced into his abbeys. The ill-combed beards of the nobles and peasants who were to be found, without dis-

sacerdotia Dei."—WALTRAMI HAUMBURG. EPISCOP., *Apolog. pro Henric. IV.*, lib. ii. c. 37, ap. GOLDAST., p. 158. "Monachi . . . longe degeneraverunt ab illa, quam professi sunt, B. Benedicti paternitate, qui docent regiæ potestati, immo divinæ ordinationi resistendum esse. . . . Nunc omnia recte pervertuntur et monachi quoque terminos Patrum transgrediuntur, et absque licentia proprii episcopi ingrediuntur, immo invadunt parochias alterius episcopi. . . ."—*Ibid.*, chapter 41. (*Abbat. Laurish. libellus supplex ad Henricum IV. contra Hildebrandinos monachos de Hirsaugia;* apud GOLDAST., *Apol.*, p. 233.)

[1] "Nam quoniam laudis sunt percupidi popularis . . . quos quia vulgaris circumfert aura favoris. . . ."—*Ibid.*, p. 235.

[2] The verses of Rutilius Numatianus against the monks are well known —"Semiviri, turpes, molles," &c.

[3] "Ex toto spretis legalibus atque veternis consuetudinibus. . . . Ut mos teutonicus jubet."—*Laurish. libell. suppl.*, pp. 235, 236. This curious lamentation dates from 1111, but the facts to which it refers evidently date from the reformation of Hirschau under Abbot Guillaume. See the complaints of Burkard, the historian of the degenerate St. Gall, *de Casib. S. Galli*, c. 7, ap. GOLDAST., *Rer. Alemann. script.*, p. 73.

tinction, among the converts at Hirschau, were held up to public derision.[1] The imperialist bishops did not disdain to repeat these insults; one of them, Walter of Naumburg, after having declared that it was the monks of Hirschau who had upset the empire, went so far in his official apology for the emperor as to compare them to those husks thrown to the swine which the prodigal son in his poverty had desired.[2] These attacks were not without results; often hard words were followed by harder treatment. When, in 1074, the citizens of Cologne, in agreement with King Henry, rose against Archbishop Hanno, they plundered and threatened with death the monks of St. Pantaleon—to punish them, as they said, for the fault of the archbishop who had expelled the old and unruly monks in order to introduce others who would submit to severe discipline.[3]

The Abbey of Hirschau deserved, indeed, the first place in the hatred of the schismatics as well as in the confidence and affection of Catholics; for during fifty years it never ceased to be the centre of orthodox resistance, and the impregnable asylum of the defenders and martyrs of the cause of the Roman Church. It was thither that King Rodolph, elected by the Catholics at Forchheim to replace Henry IV., came immediately after his election, to purify and strengthen himself during the festival of Pentecost in 1077; thither fled, after their release from prison, the French legates sent by Gregory to that assembly, the two monks Bernard and Guitmond, who, returning from their mission, robbed of all

[1] WALTRAM., *loc. cit.*, cap. 41 and 42.

[2] "Mysterium iniquitatis nunc operatur per quosdam, qui dicuntur monachi, confundentes Ecclesiam pariter et rempublicam perverso dogmate suo, qui adversantur et extollunt se adversus regiam potestatem et adversus apostolicam sedem" (that is, against the anti-pope *Guibert*) . . . "Novimus domesticam institutionem ejusmodi monachorum, quam vere possumus assimilare siliquis porcorum, de quibus non potuit ille saturari quem dicit Evangelium," &c.—*Ibid.*, p. 170. "Qui non ab apostolica sede quidem abstinuerunt, sed multa contra eam gesserunt, scripserunt et docuerunt."—*Ibid.*, p. 177.

[3] STENTZEL, *Geschichte der fränkischen Kaiser*, vol. i. p. 318.

things, nearly naked, laboured unceasingly, during a year spent among their hosts, to draw closer the bonds of monastic order and of study between Hirschau and Cluny; there, too, were received, as sons of the house, the seventy monks of the Abbey of Hersungen, violently driven from their own cloister by Wecilon, the schismatic Bishop of Mayence, on account of their attachment to the pontifical decrees.[1]

It is easy, then, to understand why Gregory VII. thought it right to secure to Hirschau the widest possible exemption,[2] and why Henry IV. honoured the holy house with a special hatred.[3] But he persecuted it with his threats in vain; the monks, says their annalist, sustained by their prayers, braved the sword of the tyrant, and despised the menaces of offended pride:[4] the Emperor never succeeded in destroying, nor even in troubling, this home of Catholic activity;[5] though, throughout the whole contest, he and his partisans never ceased to point out, to the anger of the schismatics, the audacity of these *Hildebrandines*, to borrow the epithet which they applied to the monks of Hirschau and all those attached to their cause.[6]

[1] TRITHEMIUS, pp. 235, 268.

[2] See the text of the Bull of Exemption in TRITHEM., *Chron.*, p. 243, ad ann. 1085. Cf. HEYMO, *Vit. B. Wilhelm. Hirsh.*, c. 4, in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. Gregory extended the exemption to Schaffhausen when Wilhelm had taken in hand the government of that abbey.—REGEST., lib. vii. ep. 24. King Henry IV. had previously enfranchised Hirschau from all temporal subjection at the request of the founder by a charter of 1075, anterior to his rupture with Gregory.

[3] TRITHEM., 301-304. "De monachis Hirsaugiensibus . . . sæpius coram amicis suis publicam fecit querelam, et . . . supremum illorum cœnobio iteratis vicibus comminabatur excidium."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Nec latuerunt minæ schismatici regis innocentem Hirsaugiani cœtus congregationem, quæ orationibus pugnavit contra ferrum, et spem suam habens in adjutorio Altissimi, hominis inflati comminationis forti animo contempsit."—*Ibid.*

[5] The Bishop of Strasburg, one of Henry's most zealous partisans, was already on his way, at the head of an armed troop, to attack Hirschau, when he died suddenly, without having time to put off his armour. "Vivens in infernum descendit," says HEYMO, in *Vit. S. Wilhelm.*, c. 26.

[6] "Decani et conventualium abbatiæ Laurishamensis libellus supplex

We cannot finish this review without making special mention of some of the men who, in the different reformed communities, showed themselves the most energetic defenders of the pontifical throne. Such was the learned Bernard, first master of the schools at Constance and Uldesheim, and afterwards monk at Hirschau,[1] and who, not content with bravely defending with his pen the papal decrees, composed several works against the schismatics equally vigorous and popular;[2] such were the famous historian Bernold, a monk of St. Blaise,[3] and Adalbert, a monk of Constance, who, united by a common zeal and common labours, desired to be buried under the same stone in the cloister of the Abbey of Schaffhausen; such also was Gebhard, brother of the Duke of Lahringen, a monk of Hirschau, whence he was drawn by the legate Odo,[4] to occupy the diocese of Constance, and to become, in his turn, legate in Germany after Odo's elevation to the papacy under the name of Urban II.

Above all these valiant soldiers of the Church towers the learned Abbot William of Hirschau, who for twenty-two[5]

ad Henricum IV. imperat, contra Hildebrandinos monachos de Hirsaugia, Ecclesiæ et imperii perturbatores, et pacis publicæ hostes" (*Ital.*), ap. GOLDAST., *Apol. pro. Henr. IV.*, p. 233; and FREHER, *Script. rer. German*, vol. i. Struve, in his preface to the book of Bishop Waltram against Gregory VII. (ap. FREHER, p. 240), proves that this invective applies to all monasteries founded or reformed by St. Wilhelm of Hirschau.

[1] WALTRAM., *Apol.*, p. 89, ap. GOLDAST.

[2] Bernard died at Corvas in 1088. "Vir eruditissimus, in causa S. Petri ferventissimus," says BERNOLD, *Chron.*, ann. 1088, ap. PERTZ, v. 448. Cf. eumdem ann. 1091, ap. PERTZ, p. 451. One of his writings, in which he disputes the validity of the sacraments administered by schismatics, was published by USSERMANN, *Prodromus Germaniæ sacræ*, vol. ii. p. 188, with the answer of his disciple Bernold, and the attempted refutation by Bishop Waltram of Naumberg in Book II. of his *Apology*, ap. GOLDAST., p. 89.

[3] See, on the life and writings of this monk, who was long confounded with the annalist Berthold (the continuer of Hermann Contractus), the details given by USSERMANN, *op. cit.*, x. xv.; and STENTZEL, *Geschichte der fränk. Kaiser*, vol. ii. p. 100. Baronius characterises him as *veritatis studiosissimus*, ad. ann. 1100.

[4] TRITHEMIUS, p. 266, ann. 1085.

[5] From 1069 to 1091.

years was the soul of monastic regeneration in Germany.[1] This great prelate gave up his whole life to satisfying his three dominant passions—that of solacing the poor with the most tender charity and scrupulous solicitude,[2] that of reforming degenerate monasteries,[3] and that of maintaining orthodoxy and ecclesiastical rule inflexible in face of the imperialist schism.[4] William had the power of winning souls, and, at once by his cordial and pious simplicity and by his great prudence, he exercised an unrivalled influence, not only over his monks and the Monastic Order generally, but also over those bishops, clergy, and laymen who remained faithful to the Church.[5] In spite of his manifold occupations, the venerable abbot cultivated zealously all the arts and sciences, particularly astronomy, music, and architecture;[6] but neither these studies, nor the serious cares arising from the daily warfare amidst which he lived, ever made him neglect prayer and the private duties of religion. Thus one of the disciples of the holy man wrote to him: "Your life serves us as an example; your admirable deeds, your pious lamentations, your blessed tears, suffice to waken in our hearts the desire of an eternal home."[7] When he died, six months after Gregory, William particularly recommended his monks to

[1] "Ipse namque est qui ordinem nostrum omnibus Theutonici regni provinciis misere collapsum reformare studuit."—TRITHEM., *in vet. Chron.* ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 270. Compare HEYMO, *Vit. S. Guill.*, c. 21.

[2] His life, written by his disciple Heymo, is full of touching traits of this kind.—See cc. 2 and 90.

[3] "Ante omnia in illo studium monasticæ districtionis prævaluit, in quo totus adeo efferbuit ac si nunquam aliquid studii habuerit."—BERNOLD., ann. 1091, ap. PERTZ, v. 451; TRITHEM., *ibid.*

[4] "In causa S. Petri ferventissimus."—BERNOLD., *loc. cit.* "Zelo animarum æstuabat, salubri consilio quosque ad unitatem Ecclesiæ tenendam servandamque animabat."—HEYMO, *Vit. S. Wilhelm.*, c. 5.

[5] HEYMO, *Vit.*, c. 21. [6] HEYMO, iv. 619; BERNOLD., *loc. cit.*

[7] "Sufficit vita tua, o beatissime Wilhelme, omnibus nostris in exemplum. Provocant nos ad desiderium cœlestis patriæ sanctissimi gemitus tui et beatissimæ lacrymæ tuæ omnesque splendidissimi actus tui."—AYMON, *de Qualit. cœlest. patriæ*, lib. ii., prolog., ap. MARTÈNE, in *Add. et Corr. Ann. Bened.*, vol. vi.

persevere till death in their unvarying devotion to the Roman Church.[1]

In order to complete the work of monastic regeneration, William was diligent to seek everywhere such rules and peculiar observances as might be of use in the reform of his brethren. "These are," he says, in his preface to the *Usages* which he bequeathed to his congregation, "the living stones of which I would build up my spiritual edifice."[2] It was with this view that he charged the German monk Udalric to edit, under the title of *Customs of Cluny*,[3] the complete collection of practices and rules observed in the monastery. This collection, diffused through all Christian countries, contains many rules relative to the government of souls, and is, as it were, the code of the vigorous spiritual education of Cluny—that code in which he who was the Prior Hildebrand before he became Pope Gregory, found a source of strength continually renewed.

Udalric, the monk above referred to, was a noble Bavarian of high rank,[4] who had been brought up at the imperial court, honoured by the esteem of Henry III., attached to the service of the Empress Agnes, and endowed, while still young, with all the benefices and dignities reserved for clerks of high birth. On his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem it had been his desire to found a monastery on his patrimonial estate; but the ill-will of the simoniacal bishops of the country having prevented this,[5] he resolved

[1] "Obsecrans et contestans ut in unitate Ecclesiæ et subjectione sedis Apostolicæ quomodo sibi ab eo traditum fuerat, usque ad mortem inviolabiliter permanerent."—HEYMO, *loc. cit.* p. 736.

[2] "Statui ut . . . quos vivos lapides ad spiritualis structuræ fabricam conferrem."

[3] *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, in the *Spicileg.* of D'Achery, vol. i. p. 641, ed. in fol.

[4] "Illustri prosapia Bavarorum (ortus) . . . pater illius inter regni præpotentes divitiis, fama, gloria, et potentia eminebat."—*Vit. S. Udalric*, ap. *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 782.

[5] "Statu temporis, necnon episcoporum irreligiositate, qui tunc ecclesiæ præerant impediente."—*Vit. S. Udalr.*, *ibid.*, c. 11.

that since he might not give his possessions to God, he would give himself, and for that purpose went to Cluny, where he became a monk. After some time the holy abbot Hugh sent him to Germany with a colony from Cluny, which he established at Brisgau, not without opposition on the part of both clergy and people. Udalric thus became a bond of union between the two great provinces most devoted to the Church—Burgundy and Suabia,—and at the same time an intermediary between the two holy abbots Hugh and William, whose rival he showed himself in charity to the poor and austerity of manners. Finally, after a life full of virtues and of trials, Udalric died in a cell in the Black Forest,[1] blind, but causing to be repeated to him, as a last exhortation during his agony, those words of the Apostle which so well sum up the history of the eleventh century—*Sancti per fidem vicerunt regna.*[2]

With such men and such institutions from which to recruit the army of the Church, Gregory had reason to believe that the moment was come for declaring war against the corruption of the clergy and the despotism of the laity; he marched, therefore, upon the enemy, gave him battle, and gained the day.

[1] In 1093.

[2] Heb. xi. 33. See *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix. p. 804. William of Hirschau was also the intimate friend of Bishop Wolphelm, Abbot of Braumwailer, near Cologne: "Ex illustri prosapia ortus . . . magna inter duos istos reverendissimos viros . . . familiaritas pari fuit sanctitate comparata, quæ usque ad mortem utriusque inviolata permansit."—TRITHEM., *Chron. Hirsaug.*, ad. ann. 1091; and *Vit. S. Wolphelm.* in *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. v. p. 675. Wolphelm wrote against Berengarius, as so many other monks had done—Lanfranc, Guitmond, Durand, &c. He had always supported the pontifical party in Germany, and was in his turn protected by St. Gregory VII. against Hidulph, archbishop of Cologne. Wolphelm died April 22, 1091.

HOUSES DEPENDENT ON ST. BLAISE AND HIRSCHAU

Daughters of St. Blaise.

1. Erlach, on the Lake of Bienne, founded in 1089.
2. Ochsenhausen, in Suabia, founded 1093, by Conrad of Wolfartswende.
3. Waiblingen, at the confluence of the Danube and Iller, founded 1093, by Counts Hartmann and Otto of Kirchberg; consecrated in 1099 by the legate Gebhard of Constance.
4. Gottweih, on the Danube, in Austria, founded 1093, by Bishop Altmann of Passau.
5. Alpirspach, founded in 1095, by Count Meric of Sultz, and two other nobles, also confirmed by the legate Gebhard.

Daughters of Hirschau, founded by the Abbot St. William.

1. Ursungen, 1073, endowed by Sigefroy, Archbishop of Mayence.
2. St. George of the Black Forest, founded in 1083 by Hetzel, seigneur of Wald.
3. Reichenbach, 1082, founded by Berno, Baron of Siegberg, who became a monk there.
4. Luckesheim, 1087, founded by Count Wolmar, who died a monk.
5. Zwicfalten, 1089, founded by Counts Guitold and Konon of Achelm or Watheim, transferred to Wielfelingen.
6. St. Peter, *in monte Silv. Nigr.*, near Teck, 1093, founded by Berthold, Duke of Lahringen.
7. Petershausen, near Constance, 1085, founded by Gebhard of Constance, restored.
8. Laven, in Carinthia . . .
9. St. Peter at Erfurt.
10. Camberg, in 1079, founded by Count Burkhard of Rothenburg.

We may mention here some important foundations contemporary with St. Gregory VII., or produced by his influence, but anterior to the rise of the Cistercian order :—

In Flanders: Altenburg (1084), by St. Arnold de Pamèle, bishop.
In France: Nogent, near Coucy (1077); Anchin, near Cambray

(1079)—and Ribemont, near Laon (1083), both founded by Anselm, Count of Ribemont; St. Jean des Vignes, at Soissons, by Hugh, Lord of Chateau-Thierry (1076). This illustrious community existed till the eighteenth century without need of reformation.—(See *Hist. Litt.*, i. p. 24.) At present it is used as a military store by the Engineers, who have destroyed the church and cloister, and only preserved, in a mutilated condition, the magnificent façade and the two towers. Mauriac, in Limousin, founded by Archambaud, Viscount of Comborn (1080); La Saulve Majeure, in the diocese of Bordeaux, by St. Gerard (1080); Andernes, in Ponthieu (1084); Cazal-Benoit, founded by the Lord of Issoudun (1094); Mayniac, in Limousin, founded by Archambaud III., Viscount of Comborn, to expiate the murder of twelve monks of Tulle (1085).

In Italy: Sasso-Vivo, in Umbria (1085). It was the mother-house of twenty abbeys and seventy-two priories, before it was ruined by the Commendam.

In Germany: Admont (1076), in Styria, founded by Gebhard, Archbishop of Salzburg, the friend of Gregory VII.—the monastery served as a refuge for Thiemon, the successor of Gebhard; Lambach, in Austria, by Count Eckbert of Lambach, one of the victims of Henry IV., and by his son Adalberon, Bishop of Wurzborg (1080), who took refuge there after having been deposed by the tyrant; Scheuern, in Bavaria, by the house of Willelspach (1077); Mölk, on the Danube, where monks replaced the canons in 1089, and which was afterwards celebrated for its library and for its magnificence; Remharstbrünn (1085), in Thuringia, by the Landgrave Louis, to serve as a burial-place for his race, and to expiate his sins (see *Hist. de Ste. Elisabeth*); Bursfeld, by Duke Henry and his wife Gertrude, destined, like Cazal-Benoit, which was founded in the same year, to become, in the fifteenth century, the headquarters of a celebrated reform, which embraced one hundred and fourteen monasteries; finally, Laach, near Andernach, founded by the Count Palatine Henry, and finished by his son Sigefroy of Brabant. The church of this last abbey, though given up (in 1833) by its proprietor to the most profane uses, still offers a perfect model of Roman architecture; the situation is delightful, on the shore of a lake whence the monastery derives its name. Gottweih, Admont, and Mölk still exist, thanks to the premature death of Joseph II.; and Scheuern, which a king of Bavaria had destroyed, was re-established by his son.

CHAPTER IV

PONTIFICATE OF ST. GREGORY VII.—CONDEMNATION OF INVESTITURES [1]

Hopes of the Catholics at the accession of Gregory VII.—Hatred and calumny against him existing through seven centuries.—Justice done him by modern historians.—Gregory VII. wounded and made prisoner by the imperialists.—Henry IV., excommunicated and deposed, obtains absolution at Canossa.—Gregory VII. obliged to depose the king a second time.—Triple mission fulfilled by St. Gregory VII.—He is, like his Master, insulted and betrayed.—High idea which Gregory entertained of the sacerdotal dignity.—No Pope less an innovator.—Gregory VII. invented neither the celibacy of the clergy nor the appointment of bishops by the spiritual power.—Grave consequences of investiture in Germany.—The French clergy more independent than those beyond the Rhine.—The defence of the essential distinction between the two powers and the two jurisdictions an eternal honour to the papacy.—Gregory VII. combats the false idea that the institution of bishops has the same source as feudal subjection.—Gregory VII. dreamed, not of a theocracy, but of the alliance of the two powers.

WHEN the news of Hildebrand's accession to the supreme dignity had crossed the Alps, a monk [2] wrote to him from the depths of Lorraine: "It is that you may serve as an example to His people that God has seated you upon that throne from whence all the lights of intelligence flow over the world, and to which all things converge as the rays of a circle to their centre. Be sure that the more you please the good, the more odious you will be to the wicked, and that to be hated by the sons of iniquity is not the least of the marks

[1] From 1049 to 1073. Hildebrand had been prime minister to the Popes St. Leo IX., Victor II., Stephen IX., Nicholas II., and Alexander II. He governed the Church as Pope from 1073 to 1083.

[2] William, Abbot of St. Arnoul at Metz.

of excellence. Now then, O most powerful of men, arm yourself with the sword to which the Lord has promised victory! You see how the Amalekites, the Midianites, and so many other plagues, conspire against the armies of Israel. To vanquish and exterminate such terrible enemies, what care, what zeal, what prudence, must you needs employ! But let no fear, no threat, cause you to retard the holy combat. . . . You hold the highest place; all eyes are turned towards you; all Catholics hope, and are led by your past life to expect those great things to which the sovereign dignity ought to inspire one who, in an inferior post, has already fought so gloriously."[1]

We know how Gregory answered this expectation: we know how, to speak the language of his first biographer, "he endured perfidy and temptation, perils, insults, captivity, and exile for the love of God; and how, by the grace of that same God, and by the aid of the apostles—kings, tyrants, dukes, princes, all the jailers of human souls, all the ravenous wolves, all the ministers of Antichrist, the archbishops, the bishops, and the other prevaricating priests, were vanquished by this invincible athlete.[2]

At the same time, the hatred of the wicked with which the Lorraine monk, above quoted, threatened Hildebrand, completely fulfilled that prophecy, and the powers of heresy, ignorance, and servility emulated each other for seven

[1] "Illius nunc cathedræ fecit esse sessorem a qua per orbem terrarum omnia virtutum lumina diffunduntur, et ad quam, velut in circulo lineæ, ad illud medium quod centrum geometrici vocant, universa convergunt. . . . At ineptus ego . . . cum tu fervore mirabili majora moliaris, quam nostra suspicetur infirmitas; et aquilino more omnia inferiora transvolitans, in ipsius solis ardorem tuos infigere coneris obtutus."—MABILL., *Analect.*, p. 456.

[2] "Inimicorum fraudes, tentationes, pericula, detractiones, irrisiones, captiones, custodias, propter nomen Domini . . . qualiter Domini juvamine et sustentatione, Apostolorumque comitante suffragio, reges, tyrannos, duces, principes, animarumque hominum captivatores, voratores, insuper lupos, Antichristi videlicet ministros, archiepiscopos, et reliquos ecclesiasticos pervasores fortissimus athleta Dei superavit."—PAUL BERNRIED., apud GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 137.

centuries in attacks upon his good fame. The Pope was described by his contemporaries as a *firebrand of hell*,[1] denounced by pensioned bishops as a parricide, a leper, and a magician.[2] Later, at the period of the Renaissance, the tribe of scholars of the record office and the ante-chamber, who then swarmed, spoke of the great pontiff as a viper, as Heliogabalus, as Trimalcion.[3] And less than a century ago, in this very France where we write, courtly bishops contended in zeal with legists and officers of the king, some to *bury* the enterprises of the Pontiff *in eternal forgetfulness*,[4]

[1] This insult dates from his lifetime, "*Impii*, quia Spiritum sanctum blasphemaverunt . . . *infernalem titionem* vocaverunt."—PAUL BERNRIED., vol. iii. They played upon the German etymology of the word Hildebrand, altered on purpose. *Brand* means a firebrand or a sword; *Helle*, hell. By restoring the ordinary orthography, or changing it in another way, we get, as the etymologic translation, *brand of love, sword of love, sword of a hero.* Cf. GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 125.

[2] "Sacrilegus, adulter, perjurus, homicida,
Insuper et parricida,
Leprosus in corpore et anima,
Magus, sarabaita.
Ergo ista falsa cuculla,
Facta est diaboli medulla."

—BENZONIS, *episc. Albiensis, panegyricus rhythmicus in Henric. III. imperat.*, ap. MENCKEN., *Script. rer. Germ.*, vol i. p. 1065.

[3] "Nemo unus Hilleprando fuit vafrior et versutior dolisque ac fraudibus consutis viperinior. . . . Heliogabalum, id est Proserpinæ furciferum inscripserunt. . . . Hic est quondam Babylonis illius Trimalcio. . . ."—MELCH. GOLDAST., in *Dedic. apolog. pro imp. Henric. IV. Franco-cæsare, augusto, pio, felice, inclito, patre patriæ:* Hanoviæ, 1611, pp. 5, 6, and 7. In another work by the same author, *Replicatio pro Imperio adversus Gretserum*, Gregory VII. is described as "*homo necromanticus, veneficus, blasphemus, adulter, sodomita*, p. 132.

[4] When, in 1728, Pope Benedict XIII. rendered the worship of Gregory VII. obligatory, causing the service in his honour to be inserted in the Roman breviary, many judgments and injunctions were issued in France, so as, says Mgr. d'Hallencourt, Bishop of Verdun, *to bury in eternal forgetfulness this enterprise of Pope Gregory VII.;* and Mgr. Bossuet, Bishop of Troyes, the unworthy nephew of the immortal Bishop of Meaux, did not shrink from defining as follows, in an injunction bearing date Sept. 30, 1729, the acts of St. Gregory—"*actions which should have remained in eternal oblivion, and which can only dishonour their authors.*" What would

others to mutilate his worship, and to outrage the very altars where the Church had placed him.[1] Naturally, our illustrious philosophers have not failed to improve upon the calumnies of the courtiers; for Voltaire, Gregory VII. was a *fool*,[2] and for Condorcet, a *knave*.[3]

But these times are past; and whatever may happen, they will not return. After a long night, the day of justice has arisen.[4] Even beyond the Church, generous and learned

have been the astonishment of the courtly prelates of the time of Louis XIV. if they had been able to guess how the name of the great man whom they proposed to bury in forgetfulness would, in less than a century after their servile demonstrations, be proclaimed by history! We are sorry to say that even in 1828, when the Roman breviary was published at Paris, a prelate, afterwards ennobled by misfortune and by courage, thought it right, in imitation of what had been done in Austria under Joseph II., to order the erasure from this breviary of the word *iniqui*, applied to the Emperor Henry IV. and his supporters. We refer the curious to vol. ii. of *Institutions liturgiques*, by DOM GUÉRANGER, for a complete account of this strange episode.

[1] See the curious sentence of the Parliament of Paris, given in 1729, midway between the orgies of the regency and the reign of Madame de Pompadour. This sentence we have read in its first form, upon a loose sheet, bearing the arms of France; it is entitled, "Sentence of the Court of Parliament for the suppression of a printed sheet commencing with these words: The 25th May, feast of Gregory VII., Pope and Confessor, July 20, 1729, at Paris, at the house of Pierre Simon, Printer to the Parliament, at the end of the Rue de la Harpe, at the *Hercules*: 'This day the King's men have entered, and Maître Pierre Gilbert des Voisins, advocate of our Lord the King, having right to speak, said,'" &c.

[2] The Church counts him a saint, and the sages count him a fool.—VOLT., *Essai sur les mœurs*.

[3] "Our priests tried to celebrate in the chapel of Versailles the office of Hildebrand, of whom the popes have made a saint under the name of Gregory. The king (Louis XV.), seeing this name in the list of services in his chapel, caused it to be crossed out by the advice of his Council. It is said that a commission on this subject has been named to examine the services of the religious communities, and see that they do not hold the feast of Hildebrand or any other knave."—Letter from Condorcet to Turgot, May 12, 1772, quoted in the work of M. Génin, entitled, *Ou l'Église ou d'État*, p. 20.

[4] In France, Abbé Rohrbacher, in his *Histoire Universelle de l'Église*, and M. Jager, in his *Cours d'histoire ecclésiastique*, have vigorously represented the truth, and, we may venture to say, have refuted Bossuet and

voices have disputed with each other the honour of rendering homage to the virtue of Gregory VII., vindicating his memory from the outrages of twenty generations of blind accusers.[1] That glory, so pure and so perfect, is already

Fleury. Among foreigners, Johan Müller and Professor Gaab of Tubingen, in the eighteenth century, were the first Protestants who did justice to Gregory VII. Their glimpses into historical truth have since been more fully developed.

[1] To judge of the real progress of historic truth in the short space of a quarter of a century, we must read the *History of Gregory VII.* published in 1846 by Professor Voigt, of the University of Königsberg, and that of Mr. Bowden, one of the most distinguished writers of the new Anglican school. In the first of these works, the vindication of the Pontiff is as complete as we could expect from learning without faith; in the second, in spite of the extraordinary contradictions of a school which wishes to prove to itself that the truth has never quitted the Anglican defection, we may remark not only a profound feeling of the dignity of the Church and the greatness of her divine mission, but, moreover, the most significant acknowledgments of the brilliant services rendered by Gregory to the faithful in all countries. Among the other foreign writers who have recently treated the period of Gregory VII. I may quote Stentzel, who, in part of his *History of the House of Franconia* (Leipsic, 1827), vol. i. pp. 280–524, describes the pontificate of the great Pope. This writer unfortunately does not always remember the sentiments of honesty, honour, and morality, which inspired him at the beginning of his book. A single instance will suffice to show this want of loyalty; the author (p. 373) reproaches Gregory for having more than once written the following phrase, "Accursed be he who has not made his sword drink blood!" But the writer takes care not to tell the reader that to this often-quoted text of the prophet Jeremiah (c. 48) Gregory VII. never fails to add this interpretation: "Hoc est, sicut ipsi bene intelligitis, qui verbum prædicationis a carnalium hominum retinet increpatione." This addition is found exactly repeated five times in the *Regest.*, b. ii. ep. 51 and 66; iii. 3; iv. 1 and 2. The text is only used *once without the addition* (GRETSER, i. ep. 9). Leo, in his *Manual of Middle Age History* (Halle, 1830), and Luden, in his *History of the German People* (Gotha, 1834, vols. viii. and ix.), seem to me, among all their compatriots, those who have best understood the intentions and character of Gregory VII. As to the work entitled, *Das Zeitalter Hildebrand, für und gegen ihn, aus zeitgleichen Quellen*, by Georg. Cassander (Darmstadt, 1842), it is only a pamphlet, the title of which lies audaciously, and of which the manifest object is to oppose the new tendency of historic science in Germany to the advantage of the Protestant passions raised by the resistance of the Archbishops of Cologne and Posen.

partially re-established among us; but it is still far from having reached the full splendour which the justice of the future has in store.

It is not a part of our plan to give a detailed account of the pontificate of Gregory VII. It is enough to have shown the nature of the struggle which fell to his lot, to have defined the object at which he aimed, to have pointed out the enemies he encountered, and to have enumerated the auxiliaries who at his call issued from their cloisters. In order to make manifest, as far as our weakness permits, the genius of the great champion of the Church and the Monastic Orders, it still remains for us to show the most remarkable results of his influence, and to prove the purpose with which he acted in the exercise of his redoubtable authority. But before doing this, it may be useful to recall the dates of the chief events of the period on which we have entered.

Hildebrand was elected in 1073, at the moment when the insurrection of the people of Saxony and Thuringia seriously threatened the authority of Henry IV. In the course of the following year, the prince reconciled himself with the insurgents by accepting the conditions they imposed.[1] About the same time, Henry received several legates[2] charged by the Pope to urge upon him the reformation of his life,[3] of his government, and of the German clergy. The king promised to reform, and to help Gregory to extirpate simony; but in 1075, war broke out once more between the Saxons and Henry, and the latter, this time victorious over his enemies, succeeded in reducing them to absolute submission. From that moment he ceased to temporise with the Holy See. All

[1] STENTZEL, i. 313.

[2] The Empress Agnes, Henry's mother, consented to take part in this pontifical embassy to her son; the bishops of Ostia, Palestrina, and Como were joined with her.—BONIZO, *Lib. ad amic.*, p. 811.

[3] "Pro corrigendis moribus regis."—BERTHOLD, 1064.

the royal councillors, even those who were excommunicated, were recalled, and the disorders of the Church were increased by scandalous promotions in the episcopate.

During the festival of Christmas, in this same year, 1075, Gregory VII., seized at the altar by an imperialist noble named Cencius, was wounded, and dragged to prison, but almost immediately *delivered by the Roman people*.[1] This was, on the part of Henry IV., a violation of all the promises made to the Pope. Gregory, after useless remonstrances, was obliged, as his predecessor Alexander II. had been, to cite Henry to appear before the Holy See to answer for the crimes of which he was accused. But the king, instead of obeying this summons, called together a council at Worms (Jan. 28, 1076), where the deposition of the Pontiff was pronounced.

This sentence having been notified in full synod to the Pope and clergy of Rome, Gregory, at the same sitting, decided to excommunicate the king and to pronounce the sentence of his deposition, which was the consequence of the excommunication (Feb. 1076).

At this news, the German princes assembled at Tribur (Oct. 1076), and declared that they would elect another king if Henry did not obtain absolution before the time appointed. The royal authority was suspended in the meantime;[2] and a new assembly, convoked at Augsburg for the day of the Purification in the following year, presided over by the Pope, was called upon to pronounce definitely on the accusations brought against the king. Henry accepted these conditions; but going unexpectedly into Italy, he hurried at once to meet the Pope at Canossa (Jan. 28, 1077), and there begged and obtained absolu-

[1] For details of this curious episode, see PAUL BERNRIED, cc. 45 to 67; and BERTHOLD, ann. 1076. M. Villemain has published an exact and eloquent narrative of it in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. This is the only fragment yet known to the public of the future history of Gregory VII. by that eminent writer.

[2] LAMBERT, ann. 1076.

tion,[1] promising to submit to the judgment of the princes and of the sovereign pontiff, to dismiss the simoniacal bishops, and to avoid all violence for the future. Scarcely was he absolved, however, when he allowed himself to be led away by the persuasions of the Lombard bishops, again broke his word, caused the two papal legates (Anselm of Lucca and Gerard of Ostia) to be imprisoned, and resumed the full exercise of royal authority in Italy as well as in Germany. The princes of the country, filled with indignation, then elected as king Rodolph Duke of Suabia. This took place at the Diet of Forchheim (April 7, 1077).

During three years of sanguinary rivalry between Henry and Rodolph, the Pope steadily refused to take any decisive part, and constantly advised the two parties to cease hostility. But in 1080 (March 7), after having vainly waited for Henry to repair his innumerable misdeeds, Gregory yielded to the repeated entreaties of the Saxons, and for the second time excommunicated, and definitely deposed, Henry IV., Rodolph being substituted for him as king. Henry replied by again causing the sentence of deposition to be pronounced against Gregory at the Synod of Mayence (May 31, 1080), and by electing as anti-pope Guibert of Ravenna, at the Synod of Bruges (June 25, 1080). Rodolph having fallen, sword in hand, the Catholics chose another king, Hermann of Luxemburg; and about the same time, Robert Guiscard, Duke of the Normans in Apulia, declared himself the ally and vassal of the Holy See. Between 1081 and 1084, Henry IV., having allied himself to the schismatic Emperor of Constantinople, invaded Italy, attacked Rome several times, succeeded in entering it, and caused himself to be crowned there by the anti-pope (March 31, 1084), while Gregory was shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo. Robert Guiscard, faithful to his oath, hurried to

[1] "Solam ei communionem reddidi, non in regno, a quo enim in Romanorum synodo deposueram instauravi," says Gregory VII., in the second sentence pronounced against Henry.—COLETTI, *Conc.*, xii. 638.

defend the Pope, burned and pillaged Rome in his turn, and forced the emperor to return to Germany. Gregory VII. then retired to Monte Cassino, and from thence to Salerno, where he died, May 25, 1085.

According to the custom of the times, Gregory, in the Lent of each year, assembled, either at Rome or in the environs, a council, at which the decrees necessary for the good government of the Church were promulgated. The pontiff observed this custom until the attacks of Henry IV. upon Rome rendered it impossible, and himself presided at ten of these assemblies in succession.[1] In the first (1074), he renewed the old canons against simoniacal and married clergy, condemned the latter to choose between their wives and their benefices, imposed a vow of perpetual celibacy on those who offered themselves for the priesthood, and ordered the people to renounce those priests who should disobey these canons.[2] In the second assembly (1075), Gregory, for the first time, condemned investitures. In the third (1076), he excommunicated and deposed King Henry, also for the first time. In the fourth (1078), he excommunicated Cardinal Hugh le Blanc, the Archbishops of Milan and Ravenna, and many other schismatic chiefs, declared ordination by excommunicated prelates to be null, and released all those who had sworn fidelity to them from their oaths. At the same time, Gregory thought it his duty to soften the rigours of excommunication as regarded the relations and servants of the condemned. In the fifth (Nov. 28, 1078), he renewed the sentences already pronounced against simoniacal and married priests, and against investitures, and, among other measures, desired all bishops

[1] See the canons promulgated in these councils, ed. MANSI, LABBE, or COLETTI, c. xiii.

[2] "Statuimus ut populus nullo modo officia eorum recipiat, ut qui pro amore Dei et officii dignitate non corriguntur, verecundia sæculi, objurgatione populi resipiscant." — GREG., *Epist. ad Otton., Constant.*, ap. COLETTI, xii. 550. Of all Gregory's decrees, this was the one which raised most opposition.

to establish classes for secular instruction in their cathedrals.[1] The five last councils held by Gregory were not unimportant, though of less interest than these:[2] in them the Pope received the recantation of the heresiarch Berengarius; formally condemned all the pleas put forward in defence of the marriage of priests, on the supposed authority of ancient doctors; renewed his attacks upon the Catholics who, in spite of excommunication, gave or received the investiture of a church; a second time deposed[3] the King of Germany; and finally, fulminated, also for the second time, at Salerno, his anathema against the anti-pope Guibert and and all his supporters.[4]

In comparing the acts of Gregory with those of his predecessors, we remark, at the first glance, two facts which are new and of immense importance: the deposition of a king and the condemnation of investitures. We shall see, further on, what were the nature and origin of the right of

[1] "Et omnes episcopi artes litterarum in suis ecclesiis doceri faciant." —COLETTI, xii. 620.

[2] Most of the decrees given by the councils presided over at Rome by the Pope were promulgated, in the provincial councils, in France, Spain, and England, by Gregory's legates, in the first rank of whom we have already pointed out Hugh of Die and Amatus of Bordeaux. We may here mention the twenty-seven articles known under the name of *Dictatus papæ*—articles to which the enemies of Gregory have attached great importance, thinking that they find in them the essence of his doctrines and his conduct. But even admitting the authenticity of this document, which rests upon very insufficient evidence, it is of much less interest than the letters and decrees incontestably due to Gregory VII. It is generally known that Baronius is almost the only defender of the Church who believes the *Dictatus papæ* authentic. Bellarmine and Labbe say nothing about it, and in his *Critique* on Baronius, ad ann. 1077, Pagi, whose perfect devotion to the Holy See cannot be doubted, shows the error of Baronius, giving it as his own opinion that these famous twenty-seven articles had been invented by some posthumous adversary of St. Gregory. It is certain that there is no mention made of them by any of those hostile contemporaries, who would certainly not have failed to attack the *Dictatus papæ* if it had existed in their time. In our opinion, this collection is only a compilation, without order, without method, and without authority.

[3] BERNOLD, ann. 1804, ap. PERTZ, 441.

[4] (1081.)

deposition. Let us try first to explain here the necessity and legitimacy of the proscription of investitures.[1] It is necessary, first, to remark that, during the twelve years of his pontificate, Gregory had no occasion to change any of the sentiments which had animated him during the twenty-five years he had spent at the head of the papal councils. According to the invariable and unanimous evidence of Catholic historians, the great Pope had always desired three things: to render the celibacy of priests inviolable, to extirpate simony,[2] and to free the Church from the yoke of the laity.[3] This triple regeneration, the object of all his anxieties and efforts as monk, as cardinal, and as legate, was also the invariable purpose of his acts as Pope. But it is important to understand and clearly show that it was not only the independence of the Church which, in the eleventh century, ran the risk of shipwreck on the triple rock just spoken of—it was also, and above all, the salvation of men. Gregory, chief pastor of the souls bought by the blood of Christ, might not suffer their number to be diminished, the holiness of the sacraments and the priesthood to be sacrificed to human interests, the health-giving torrent of grace to be thus poisoned at its source by profane novelties. The liberty he claimed for the Church was that of opening to men the gates of Paradise. Such, we dare to affirm, was the highest ambition of the pontiff. He has been too much regarded, even by those who wished to defend

[1] Here is Noel Alexander's definition of investiture: "Investitura est consensus ab imperatore vel rege adhibitus selectioni factæ alicujus ad episcopatum vel abbatiam, et concessio bonorum ecclesiasticorum solemni quodam ritu facta."—*Hist. eccles.*, vol. vi., in sæc. xi. dissert. iv.

[2] "Ipse autem qui multum tempus ad obtinendam libertatem Ecclesiæ privatus laboraverat, jam ad sacerdotalem dignitatem provectus, a cœpto desistere indignum putans tam ob hoc quam pro simonia extirpanda ac incontinentia clericorum reprimenda, plurimum desudabat."—OTTO FRISING, book vi. c. 34.

[3] "Noluit sane ut ecclesiasticus ordo manibus laicorum subjaceret, sed eisdem et morum sanctitate et ordinis dignitate præemineret."—BERNOLD, ann. 1085.

him, as a political genius, a historic and social personage: what he wished to be—the pastor of souls, the minister absolutely responsible for the salvation of Christendom,—this has been too much forgotten.

Enough attention was not paid to his words, when he preached to kings and prelates the supreme duty of gaining souls.[1] Now, the Catholic Church having alone both the right and the secret of gaining these souls, it was first of all necessary that she should be free: for without liberty there is no strength; without liberty, right is a fruitless abstraction. It was necessary, then, to free the Church, in the person of her heads and her ministers, from all lay influence; it was necessary, at any price, to hinder the spiritual power from being subjected to human will, the divine and perpetual institution from being linked to the ephemeral destinies of political power; it was necessary to wrest the storehouse of the doctrines, morals, and conscience of Christian people, from avaricious, impure, and servile hands; it was necessary to prevent bishops from sinking to the level of creatures and courtiers of princes; it was necessary to place out of all danger the right of jurisdiction, and to maintain the inviolability of its character; finally, it was necessary to prove the sovereign independence of the Church, to uproot the heretical belief in the right of temporal intervention in the empire of conscience, and to confirm the principle that a priest who violates the laws of God out of regard for earthly authority is, in a manner, an apostate.[2] This is what Gregory wished; this is what he accomplished; and this is why the apostles

[1] To King Henry he said: "Videntes ordinem Christianæ religionis multis jam labefactum temporibus, et principales ac proprias lucrandarum animarum causas diu prolapsas et suadente diabolo conculcatas."—Lib. iii. epist. 10. To Archbishop Gebhard of Salzburg: "Quis enim cui spiritualia lucra cordi sunt . . . non libentissime amplectatur voluntatem divitias terrenas animarum saluti postponentem?"—Lib. ii. epist. 77.

[2] "Quid enim aliud est sacerdotem ad imperium mundanæ potestatis legem Dei infrangere, ni fidem ejus negare?"—Epist., i. 23 (to the Bishop of Carthage).

and accomplices of error great and small, from Voltaire to Fleury,[1] have agreed to reproach him: for he had this admirable point of resemblance to Him whose vicar he was on earth, that none among the saints was ever more bitterly insulted by the wicked, or more basely betrayed by the weakness of some even of the faithful.

To St. Gregory VII., the winning of souls was the end, and the independence of the Church the means, but a means indispensable and supreme. The triple scourge which we have so often mentioned, had enthroned, as it were, in the bosom of the priesthood three capital sins: avarice, by means of simony; luxury, by the marriage of priests; and pride, in its most dangerous form, by the practice of investiture. Gregory, as we have said repeatedly, was a monk; and after, as well as before, his accession to the papacy, his assistants in the defence of the Church were, almost without exception, drawn from the Monastic Orders. To the horrible flood of sin, committed even in the sanctuary, the pontiff opposed the three monastic virtues—poverty, chastity, and obedience; he was thus armed against simony by that voluntary poverty, that renunciation of all personal property, which so many thousand Christians, priests and knights, nobles and serfs, practised in the cloister: to the marriage of the clergy he could oppose the absolute and perpetual celibacy of the monks; to the pride of the emperor, the vow of obedience to a purely spiritual superior—a vow which had been pro-

[1] Voltaire, as we have seen above, ranked Gregory among madmen. This is how Fleury valued the great Pope: "I think I see a weak old man, who, feeling himself despised by children, and not being able to leave his bed to punish them, hurls at them whatever he finds under his hand to satisfy his impotent anger, and, raising his voice, heaps upon them all the imprecations he can think of."—*Lectures on Eccles. Hist.*, from A.D. 600 to 1000. *I think* that Bossuet would not have approved this language, which is at least strange in the mouth of a priest. The world has not forgotten the words of the Bishop of Meaux to Cardinal d'Estrées on the subject of the Gallicanism of bishops, as opposed to the Gallicanism of magistrates.

nounced by so many bishops who had left their monasteries to govern the Church. Himself trained in the precepts of the three virtues which formed the basis of the rule of St. Benedict, Hildebrand had learned in the cloister to place at the service of the holy and supreme freedom of salvation an energetic character, a powerful eloquence, an inexhaustible charity, a life altogether in accordance with his doctrine,[1] and a courage unsurpassed in history. To combat the two plagues of simony and incontinence, Gregory VII. had only to continue, after his accession to the papacy, the work which his predecessors had begun, and which he himself had directed under their reigns. The simoniacal and married priests had been formally and repeatedly condemned by St. Leo IX., Stephen X., Victor II., Nicholas II., and Alexander II. Gregory only confirmed these previous decrees, and imparted to their execution the sovereign energy which characterised him. But they had left almost intact the question of investitures: a single attempt had been made, under Leo IX., at the Council of Reims, to restore the old freedom of episcopal elections, and it had been without result. Gregory, then, found everything left for him to do in the very direction in which he had long since seen the real difficulty of the reform and enfranchisement of the Church to lie. The lofty intelligence of the pontiff had at once understood that it was impossible to cure radically two of the plagues of the Church without touching the third. Because their crime had been rebuked who, in the powerful words of the Pope, "wished to buy the Church like a vile slave in order to prostitute her to the demon;"[2] because the indignation of the faithful had been invoked upon "the insensate

[1] "Forma gregis factus, quod verbo docuit, exemplo demonstravit; ac fortis per omnia athleta, murum se pro domo domini ponere non timuit." —OTTO FRISING, vi. 34.

[2] "Quasi vilem ancillam præsumpsit emere, sponsam videlicet Christi diabolo prostituere."—GREG., *Epist.*, i. 15 (against Godefroy, intruding Bishop of Milan).

priests who dared to touch at the same time the body of an impure woman and the body of Christ,"[1]—was it safe to count upon any effectual guarantee for the purity and liberty of the Church while the popes received the symbolic investiture from imperial hands, and seemed to recognise in a lay power the source of their strength and jurisdiction? Such a state of affairs was absolutely incompatible with the high idea which Gregory VII. entertained of the sacerdotal dignity —placing as he did above the power of kings that of a mere exorcist, saying that the latter "is constituted spiritual emperor against the demons."[2] It was for this reason that, after having put in motion under the pontificate of his predecessors all the prohibitive power of the papal authority against simony and the marriage of priests, Gregory, as soon as he himself mounted the throne, determined that it was absolutely necessary to destroy lay investitures. This he accomplished at the Council of Rome (1075) by the following decree: "If any one, for the future, accept a bishopric or abbey from the hands of a layman, he shall not be counted in any way among the bishops or abbots. . . . We withhold from him the grace of St. Peter and the entrance to the Church until he shall have renounced the see which he has usurped through the double crime of ambition and disobedience, which constitutes idolatry. We command that the same shall apply to all inferior and ecclesiastical dignities. Moreover, if any emperor, duke, marquis, count, or other secular person whatever, has the presumption to give investiture of a bishopric or other ecclesiastical dignity, let him not be ignorant that the same condemnation will fall upon him."[3]

[1] "Attendentes quæ insania quodve scelus est uno eodemque tempore corpus meretricis et corpus attrectare Christi."—*Epist.*, vi. 11 (to the Count of Flanders).

[2] "Major potestas exorcistæ conceditur, cum spiritualis imperator ad abjiciendos dæmones constituitur, quam alicui laicorum causa secularis dominationis tribui possit."—GREG., *Epist.*, viii. 21 (to Hermann, Bishop of Metz).

[3] There are three decrees which formally condemn investitures. The

It was then only that St. Gregory VII. thought he had fulfilled the mission from above which imposed upon him the duty of bringing back the Church of God to her ancient honour, and preserving her free, chaste, and Catholic.[1] "These decrees," says a contemporary monk, "fell upon the Church like dew from heaven, and, thanks to the holy pontiff, that splendour of true ecclesiastical election, so long veiled by clouds, was seen to reappear."[2] But was this an innovation? and can we regard as well founded the reproaches of those who, after declaiming against the furious ambition of Gregory, describe him as a reckless innovator? A short

first, given at the Council of Rome, 1075, says: "Si quis deinceps episcopatum vel abbatiam de manu alicujus laicæ personæ susceperit, nullatenus inter episcopos vel abbates habeatur. . . . Insuper ei gratiam B. Petri et introitum Ecclesiæ interdicimus, quoadusque locum quem sub crimine tam ambitionis quam inobedientiæ, quod est scelus idololatriæ, cepit, deseruerit, similiter de inferioribus ecclesiasticis dignitatibus constituimus. Item, si quis imperatorum, ducum, marchionum, comitum, vel quilibet secularium potestatum aut personarum investituram episcopatus vel alicujus ecclesiasticæ dignitatis dare præsumpserit, ejusdem sententiæ vinculo se astrictum noverit."—HUGO FLAVINIAC., ap. LABB., *Bibl. nov. MS.*, vol. i. p. 196, and *Conc.*, vol. xii. p. 578.

In the second (1079), which condemns investitures, we read: "Quoniam investituras ecclesiarum *contra statuta S. S. Patrum* a laicis personis in multis partibus cognovimus fieri, et ex eo plurimas perturbationes in ecclesia oriri, ex quibus Christiana religio conculcatur: decernimus ut nullus clericorum investituram episcopatus vel abbatiæ vel ecclesiæ, de manu imperatoris, vel regis, vel alicujus laicæ personæ, viri vel feminæ, suscipiat. Quod si præsumpserit," &c.—BERTHOLD., *Annales*, ann. 1078, ap. PERTZ, 314. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 308. Leo of Ostia, librarian of Monte Cassino, present at the Council, thus sums up the decree: "In hoc synodo institutum est ut qui a laico investituram ecclesiæ acciperet, anathemate uterque plecteretur, et qui scilicet daret, et qui acciperet."—*Chron. Cassin.*, c. 24. Finally, the third decree, given by the Council of 1080, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against any emperor, king, prince, &c., who should give investiture.

[1] "Ut sancta Ecclesia sponsa Dei, Domina et mater nostra, ad propriam rediens decus, libera et casta et catholica permaneret."—*Append. epist.* 15, *ad omnes fideles*, and ap. HUG. FLAVIN., p. 231. This is the last, and perhaps the finest, of all the letters of Gregory VII.

[2] "Hæc sunt beatissimi papæ synodalia decreta . . . cœlo rorante stillata," &c.—HUG. FLAVIN., p. 208.

examination and a little reflection would have sufficed to prove that in his immense enterprise the sovereign pontiff carefully avoided following the inspirations of his own genius to the neglect of old traditions. His only object, indeed, was to re-establish the ancient Catholic law, misunderstood until the moment when he took up the government of the Church.[1] What he wished to accomplish was a restoration, not a revolution, nor was any thought further from his mind than that of innovation. Let us look at his own words in a letter written to the monks of Vallombrosa during the first year of his reign: "Pray to Almighty God to give me strength to bear the insupportable burden of my new authority, and to bring back Holy Church to the footing of the ancient religion."[2] "We do not search for arguments in our own mind," he writes in the following year to the Archbishop of Cologne; "but in obedience to the duties of our office we bring to light laws sanctioned by the ancient fathers, under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit."[3] He wished for regeneration without innovation. "These are not," he wrote to the Bishop of Mayence, "our own decrees that we propose to you, though we should have a right to do so, if need were; we are but renewing the statutes of the holy fathers."[4] And elsewhere, in a letter to King Henry IV., he adds: "We establish nothing new, nothing of our own invention, but we wish to return to the ancient and only road of discipline which the saints have trodden."[5]

[1] This is the testimony borne in more or less express terms to Gregory VII. by all contemporary writers of any consequence—among others, by the biographer of St. Anselm of Lucca: "Idem reverendissimus papa, per quem *restaurari* cœperunt *omnia jura* canonica, usque ad ipsum prorsus pene abolita."—*Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix.; and GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 472.

[2] "Sanctam Ecclesiam in statum antiquæ religionis reducere."—*Append. ad Epist.*, No. 2.

[3] "Præcepta hæc non de nostro sensu exsculpimus, sed de antiquorum patrum sanctiones Spiritu sancto prædicante prolatas officii nostri necessitate in medium propalamus."—*Epist.*, ii. 67.

[4] *Epist.*, ii. 68.

[5] "Nihil novi . . . statuentes, sed primam et unicam ecclesiasticæ

And, in fact, no one could deny that the Church had always rebuked simony since St. Peter's combat with the heresiarch who has left his name to this plague-spot. On the subject of the celibacy of priests, more or less accepted opinions had been spread abroad; but whatever may have been the tolerance of the primitive Church in this matter, no one was ignorant that since the time of Nicholas I. in the ninth century, innumerable decrees, emanating from popes and councils, had renewed, in the strictest terms, the interdiction of marriage to ecclesiastics of all orders.[1] Gregory, going still further back, appealed to the authority of his two predecessors, St. Leo and St. Gregory the Great.[2] But the evil had reached its height since the establishment of these insufficient prohibitions; and, as we have seen above, the property of churches confided to married pastors

regulam et tritam sanctorum viam, relicto errore, repetendam et sectandam esse censuimus."—*Epist.* iii., *Epist.* x. Cf. *Epist.* v., ad Aquilienses. And at the Council of 1078, Gregory says again: "Sanctorum patrum sequentes vestigia . . . sanctorum prædecessorum nostrorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicati fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt apostolica auctoritate, a sacramento absolvimus et ne sibi fidelitatem obscurent omnibus modis prohibemus."—COLETTI, *Conc.*, vol. xii. p. 625.

[1] The Anglican Bowden has faithfully summed up all the texts emanating from religious authority on this point.—Vol. i. p. 192, of his *Hist. of Greg. VII.*

[2] *Epist. ad Otton. Constant.*, ap. BOLLAND., *Vit. S. Greg. VII.*, c. 4. Gregory might also have invoked the decrees of the first councils held after the enfranchisement of the Church: for example, those of Elvira, held 306; of Neocæsaria and of Encyra, 314; and of Carthage, 390. In these councils it was ordered that Christians who were married before being called to the condition of ecclesiastics, should live in continence from the day of their admission to holy orders. The Council *in Trullo*, of 692, relaxed this prohibition in favour of the Greek Church; and this was undoubtedly one of the first sources of the schism and of the degradation into which this Church has since fallen. However, the Greek Church, while admitting married men to the priesthood, expressly forbids persons already in orders to marry. Cf. for the whole of the question, Fleury, Thomassin &c.; and see also the curious controversy, *De cælibatu sacerdotum*, which arose in 1079, between the priest Alboin and the historian Bernald of St. Blaise, or Bernold Constance, published by Gretser, vol. vi., and by Ussermann, *Prodromus Germ. Sacr.*, vol. ii. p. 239.

became gradually the patrimony of their children, the dowry of their daughters.[1] If such a state of things had been prolonged in the midst of a social organisation, where the principle of hereditary succession was all-powerful, an earthly territorial succession would have superseded the spiritual generation of the children of God, and the Church would have been confounded with lay society.

Blind and ignorant hatred has reproached Gregory, as a crime inspired by his personal ambition, with having *invented* the celibacy of the clergy in order to raise for himself an army of creatures devoted to his will alone. If it were true that the pontiff had himself conceived and created for the Catholic priest this magnificent distinction, it would have been, most certainly, the greatest of his glories; for he would have created, for the Church, that post of triumph whence no power and no danger have been able to drive her—he would have discovered the *human* secret of the purity and perpetuity of the Church. But the son of the Tuscan carpenter has not an exclusive right to a glory which belongs to the whole papacy; what does belong to Gregory —and it is enough—is that of having understood that it was needful thoroughly to root out the corruption which was lowering the secular clergy to the level of the crowd, subjecting it to the same less elevated affections and the same weaknesses; it is that of having perceived that the family, springing from the marriage or concubinage of the clergy, being the strongest tie which could attach the spiritual man to earth, it was necessary to break this tie in order to restore to the ministers of truth their power and their inde-

[1] "The Church has opposed an invincible resistance to all attempts to make her abandon this point of her discipline; in her wisdom she has perceived that she would lose her ministry, once debased by such a concession. The Church has stood firm against all obstacles, against custom triumphant in many places, against nature, against men. She has repulsed all, she has conquered. She will maintain her victory. She would destroy herself the day she yielded this post of triumph."—DE PRADT, *Du jésuitisme ancien et moderne*, 1825.

pendence in presence of secular authority; it is, finally, that he stamped the work of liberation, throughout the extent of Christendom,[1] with an energy so great as to ensure the final victory of the honour and rights of the Church. In what relates to investitures, their prohibition by Gregory was new in form, but for the simple reason that the evil itself was of comparatively recent origin. It literally expressed, however, the spirit of the canons of the General Councils of Nice and Constantinople, which imperatively forbade the intervention of laymen in the preferment of bishops.[2] These canons could not mention investitures which did not exist at the time of their promulgation; but no one can doubt that the Church must have freely provided for the choice of bishops and abbots many centuries before the establishment of these same investitures.

After the conquest of the Roman empire by the Germanic nations, and in consequence of the alliance between barbarous royalties and the Church, the latter, whose liberties and pro-

[1] "Scilicet quod prædecessores ejus in Italia prohibuerunt, hoc ipse in aliis ecclesiæ catholicæ prohibere studiosius attemptavit."—BERTHOLD. CONSTANT., *Ann.*, ann. 1073, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 276. "Hoc ipse in tota Ecclesia catholica prohibere studuit."—BERNOLD, *S. Blasii Chron.*; *Ibid.*, p. 430.

[2] At the second Council of Nicæa (seventh general, in 787), it was said: "Omnis electio episcopi, presbyteri, vel diaconi, a principibus facta, irrita maneat secundum regulam quæ dicit: Si quis, secularibus potestatibus usus, ecclesiam per ipsos obtinuerit, deponatur et segregetur, omnesque qui illi communicant." At the fourth Council of Constantinople (eighth general, 870), it was decreed that: "Neminem laicorum principum et potentum semet inserere electioni vel provectioni patriarchæ vel metropolitæ aut cujuslibet episcopi, ne inordinata hinc et incongrua fiat confusio vel contentio, præsertim cum nullam in talibus potestatem quemquam potestativorum laicorum habere conveniat, sed potius silere, et attendere usquequo regulariter a collegio ecclesiæ suscipiat finem electio futuri pontificis . . . quisquis secularium principum . . . adversus . . . electionem . . . agere tentaverit, anathema sit. . . ." Words quoted by Hug. Flavin., and reported by Labbe, *Concil.*, vol. xii. p. 558, ed Coletti. We might have quoted a number of analogous canons—among others, the twelfth of the fourth Council of Constantinople, which forbids princes to be even present at ecclesiastical meetings: "Neque enim fas est ut sæculares principes rerum quæ Dei sacerdotibus contingunt, spectatores fiant."

perty were anterior to all the political institutions of Europe, had felt no disquiet in seeing the establishment of a custom which kings only used to regulate the feudal and territorial position of bishops. But it must have been otherwise when investiture had become the essential and dominant condition of preferment to the episcopate—when it went on to absorb and supersede the right of election—when, finally, it appeared as the seizure by the temporal power of the government of the Church. The extreme consequences of royal investiture, too easily accepted in England, were not admitted into France,[1] and seem not to have been so in Spain; but they reigned triumphant in the north of Italy and in Germany. Thus the reaction against this immense abuse was first and chiefly directed by Gregory VII. against the royal power in Germany, which, gifted by the papacy two centuries previously with an exclusive right to the imperial dignity, was dominant at once in Germany and in Italy.[2] We must add that, in Germany, the papacy, with regard to the royal

[1] Noel Alexander has collected curious examples of the influence exercised by kings over episcopal elections in both countries.—*Vide Hist. eccles.*, sæc. xi. and xii.; *Dissert.*, iv.

[2] We must note here the curious distinction which Gregory himself pointed out between investitures such as were exercised in Italy and such as were exercised in other countries—in the kingdom of Arles, for instance, which was equally dependent on the empire. We see in Hugues de Flavigny that the first decree published against investiture was given by the Pope on the occasion of the double election of St. Anselm to the see of Lucca, and of the famous Hugh, afterwards Archbishop of Lyon, to the see of Die, in Dauphiny. The two bishops-elect were waiting at Rome for their consecration when the envoys of King Henry arrived: "*Rogantes ne, contra morem prædecessorum suorum, dominus papa eos consecrare vellet* qui episcopatus electionem solam, non autem donum *per regiam accepissent electionem.*" The Pope asked the opinion of the cardinals, who replied that this was the custom of the Church. But Gregory acted differently with regard to the two bishops; he consented to defer the consecration of the Italian until after the investiture *ex regis dono*, but he refused to put off the consecration of the Dauphinois bishop: "Cum auctoritas eis (cardinalibus) *nulla ad hoc suffragaretur, in Lucensi tamen electo eis adquievit . . . in Diensi vero adquiescere noluit.*" Gregory consecrated this bishop immediately, and then convoked the council where the first decree against investiture was rendered.—HUG. FLAVIN., ap. LABBE, vol. i. p. 196.

power, found itself in a special position which singularly increased the dangerous consequences of investiture. In most Christian countries, the Church had been established by her own efforts, and had taken root, in spite of the temporal power of the pagan emperors, before the birth of Christian royalties founded on the ruins of the Roman empire. Thus, in Gaul, the Frankish kings, far from being the founders or first benefactors of the Church, had found her in the position of an established and recognised power —had treated with her, and thought themselves happy to obtain her sanction for their authority. In Germany, on the contrary, at least east of the Rhine, the Church owed her political existence in the first place to the victorious sword of the Carlovingians, and later, to that of the Othos, who had cleared a way for the authority of bishops and the zeal of monks, and had enriched with vast domains the dioceses and principal abbeys of the country. These territories, freed from all subordination to other lords than the king himself, formed the domain of the prelates, and were destined, in the opinion of the givers, not only to contribute to the general defence, and the other necessities of the State, as was done by the great secular fiefs, but also to transform their holders into instruments of the royal power, at once surer and more docile than the great hereditary lords of the laity.[1] At the same time, it is true that St. Boniface, the apostle of Germany, legate of the Holy See, had, by a direct and special bond, subjected the new churches to that of Rome; but the guarantee of independence of the temporal power, which was based on such a subordination to a distant and spiritual power, had been doubly neutralised,—on one hand, by the disorders from which the Holy

[1] "Carolus magnus pro contundenda gentium illarum ferocia, omnes pene terras ecclesiis contulerat, consiliosissime perpendens, nolle sacri ordinis homines tam facile quam laicos fidelitatem domini rejicere. Preterea si laici rebellarent, illos posse excommunicationis auctoritate et potentiæ severitate compescere."—GUILL. MALMESB., *de Gestis reg. Angl.*, vol. v. p. 93, ed. Savile.

See had suffered in the tenth century, and yet more, by the preponderating influence of German royalty; on the other hand, by the ever-increasing political influence which the bishops exercised among the princes of the empire. These bishops were more princes than prelates.[1] The more their power and their riches increased, the closer were the bonds of their dependence drawn; for it was precisely the considerable aggrandisement of their temporal position, and of the wealth with which they were endowed, that were the cause, and in a manner justification, of the demands of royalty upon them —demands unknown in other Christian kingdoms, and, above all, in France, though the custom of investiture with ring and crosier had prevailed there also under the Merovingians. The acts of the councils of the second race show us, that when, in 858, Louis the German invaded the states of Charles the Bald, and wished to exact an oath of allegiance from the French bishops, these prelates, assembled in council at Quiercy, strongly protested against this demand, not only in the name of the rights of their king, Charles, but also in virtue of their own. "The churches which God has given to our charge," they said, "are not so far royal benefices and properties that a king can take them away or bestow them as seems good to him. . . . And we, bishops consecrated to the Lord, are not men of such a class that we must submit ourselves, like seculars, by a tie of vassalage to such or such a one, or take an oath forbidden to us by authority of the Gospel, the Holy See, and the

[1] Historians almost always designate them *principes;* and thence the habitual titles of prince-bishop, prince-abbot, and princely abbeys, in the Holy Roman Empire. It is sufficient to look at the effigies of the seventeen electors, sculptured in the fourteenth century, on the celebrated fountain (schöne Brünn) in the market-place at Nuremburg, and to notice the three archbishops clothed in steel under their copes, and with banners in their hands, to understand that in Germany the bishop was, above all, a prince, a potentate, a member of the body politic and military. Hence they derived a force and a temporal power which did not exist elsewhere; but hence also sprang the germ of a weakness, fraught with most deplorable consequences, in the temporal order.

canons."[1] In her worst days, the Church of France has always preserved gleams of this ancient independence; while the German prelates, placed in a dependent position, have hardly ever known how to defend the common interests and rights of their Church, nor to keep themselves free from the character of creatures and dependants, which dated, for them, from the very origin of the German Church.

Such then, it seems to us, was, in the eleventh century, the general character of the history of the Church beyond the Rhine, with some glorious exceptions which have still to be pointed out. Under Gregory VII., investiture was incontestably a seal of the dependence of the Church of Germany, and a flagrant proof of its absorption by the political power. Investiture did not only prove the invasion of the domain of spiritual authority by lay power; it also implied an undeniable usurpation of ecclesiastical property. And, in fact, the estates which constituted the territorial endowment of bishoprics and other benefices were not composed only of fiefs or royal rights (such as those of coining money, holding markets, taking tolls, &c.), which the Church held simply from the royal bounty; they comprehended also many free or allodial lands, given in perpetual possession by their proprietors to different churches, and over which the emperor could claim no right whatever.[2] And

[1] "Ecclesiæ . . . non talia sunt beneficia et hujusmodi regis proprietas ut pro libitu suo inconsulte illas possit dare vel tollere . . . et nos, episcopi, Domino consecrati, non sumus hujusmodi homines ut sicut homines seculares in vassalatico debeamus nos cuilibet commendare, aut jurationis sacramentum, quod nos evangelica, apostolica atque canonica auctoritas vetat, debeamus quoquo modo facere."—COLETTI, *Conc.*, vol. x. p. 102. This long remonstrance, addressed to King Louis by the bishops of the provinces of Rheims and Rouen, is one of the finest monuments of the immortal pontificate of Nicholas I. Döllinger thinks that the refusal of the bishops to yield to the demand of the oath was occasioned by its being required of them after their consecration: he thinks that before being consecrated the prelates used not to refuse the oath of homage; and in support of this assertion he quotes the oath taken by Hincmar to Charles the Bald in 870.

[2] The true nature of Church property at this epoch, as well as the true

yet, in the solemn act of investiture, as it was conferred by princes in the time of Gregory VII., there was no difference made between these different kinds of property, any more than between the wholly spiritual nature of episcopal authority and the temporal relation of the bishops, as princes, to the heads of the empire. The extent of the lands and riches which their subordination to the emperor assured to the dignitaries of the Church, made all these momentous considerations vanish from their eyes. It was a bargain in which the two parties agreed to sacrifice the spiritual to the temporal. The clergy of the metropolitan see of Hamburg said, even in the twelfth century, in speaking of investiture, "It is an evil and a disgrace; but the most excellent emperors have redeemed it by the abundant riches which the Church has received from the crown. Thus provided for and honoured, she should no longer think herself dishonoured by such a subjection, nor blush to bow before one man that she may the better rule all others." [1]

It is to the eternal honour of the medieval papacy that it refused to sanction so mean a calculation. But there was a yet more fatal usurpation, which sprang directly from investiture—that of the right of election, which, as we have seen, had been gradually extinguished in favour of that of *designation*, exercised by the sovereign in the eleventh century. The King of Germany alone, with the more or less explicit assent of the bishops and temporal princes, nominated to all vacant bishoprics. The investiture to fiefs

import of investiture, seem to us to have been explained with equal clearness and conciseness by DÖLLINGER, *Lehrbuch der K. Gesch.*, vol. ii. sects. 74 and 87, pp. 7–14, 160–162, ed. of 1838.

[1] "Neque imperatores dignissimi levitate usi sunt, ut episcoporum domini vocarentur, sed compensaverunt noxam hanc amplissimis regni divitiis, quibus Ecclesia copiosius aucta, decentius honestata, jam non vile reputet se ad modicum cessisse subjectioni, nec erubescat uni inclinari per quem possit in multos dominari."—HELMOLDI, *Chron. Slav.*, b. i. c. 69, ap. LEIBNITZ, *Script. Brunsw.*, i. 594. The same passage clearly proves that bishops ought not to consent to receive investiture from dukes, princes, nor any person whatever except the emperor.

and landed property attached to the dioceses, which at first the sovereigns only accorded to clerks canonically elected, had thus become the *sine quâ non* of the choice. The right of designating the bishop to the suffragans of the Church had ended by so absorbing the right of choosing him, that in the eyes of the greater number the two rights appeared inseparable. The ceremony of consecration was indeed judged necessary to confer the episcopal character; but the elect knew very well, and so did all the world, that he was only a real bishop from the moment he received from the royal hands the crosier and ring. Thus, then, by investiture, which always preceded consecration, the king or the emperor, in his own opinion, as well as that of the people, conferred upon the man of his choice the whole bishopric, not only with all its domains, but with all the authority and all the prerogatives which belonged to it.[1] No doubt the choice made by some princes sincerely devoted to good was often irreproachable—sometimes even of great use to the Church: but the order established by God for the government of His Church was none the less reversed; and the essential distinction of the *two powers*, the *two jurisdictions*, was gradually disappearing, to give place to a detestable confusion. Finally, the almost total assimilation of bishops and abbots with the great lay vassals reached the

[1] See, in NOEL ALEXANDER, *Eccles. Hist.*, dissert. iv. sæc. xi. p. 725, a great number of examples of this exclusive omnipotence of the emperors in the choice of bishops. We will only quote here one of these examples, which shows how the chapter of Magdeburg expressed itself after the death of its archbishop: "Rex . . . ad nos misit ut electio a nobis non fiat; sed tantum consensus unanimis."—DITHMAR DE MERSEBOURG, vol. vi. p. 74. This is exactly the reproach addressed by St. Anselm of Lucca to anti-Pope Guibert: "Rex tuus sine intermissione vendit episcopatus, edicta proponens ut nullus habeatur episcopus qui a clero electus, vel a populo fuerit expetitus, nisi præcesserit honor regius, quasi ipse sit hujus ostii ostiarius, de quo Veritas dixit: Huic ostiarius aperit. . . ." And further on: ". . . Accingimur respondere his qui dicunt, regali potestati Christi Ecclesiam subjacere, ut ei pro suo libito vel prece, vel pretio, vel gratis, liceat pastores imponere."—S. ANSELM, *episc.*, LUC., contra Guibert, suo defens. Greg. VII., b. i. and ii., in *Bib. Max. Patr.*, vol. xviii.

highest point of confusion and of scandal by the establishment of symbolic forms for investiture, such as were practised by the emperors of the house of Franconia. It is well known that the ring indicated the spiritual marriage of the bishop with his Church, and the crosier his purely spiritual authority over the flock of the faithful.[1]

How, then, could the Church endure to see the august tokens of the divine mission of her pontiffs conferred by the hand of a layman, of whatever dignity? How could she admit the existence of any connection whatever between these mystic symbols and the wholly temporal obligations of the bishop towards his temporal suzerain? How could she fail to judge it necessary, even indispensable, to extirpate from the mind of the people the opinion, so radically false, that the apostolic institution of bishops sprang from the same source as their feudal subjection, and that the spiritual marriage of the prelate with his Church was imposed, sanctioned, and guaranteed by the temporal authority alone? We may therefore easily understand the words of sorrowful indignation which such a sacrilegious confusion wrung from Gregory VII. in the last days of his life: "What! among all the nations of the earth, the national law secures to the poorest and most unfortunate woman the right of choosing, at her will, a lawful husband; and the holy Church, the bride of God, and our mother, bending under the yoke of impious passions and execrable customs, has not the right to remain united to her Divine husband, according to her own desires and the law of God! And the sons of this Church must be condemned, like children born of adultery and branded with infamy, to acknowledge heretics and usurpers as their fathers!"[2] Must not this

[1] "Nonne accepisti annulum, et Ecclesiam tuam vel ut sponsam diligeres, baculum quoque, ut eam a luporum incursione defenderes?"—*Epist. Moguntinæ eccles. ad Sigefrid.*; UDALR. BAB., *cod. epist.*, ii. 134, ap. ECCARD., *Corp. hist. med. æv.*, vol. ii.

[2] "In omnibus enim terris licet etiam pauperculis mulieribus suæ patriæ lege, suaque voluntate virum accipere legitime; sanctæ vero Ecclesiæ,

generous indignation have inspired in Gregory VII. the ardent desire to re-establish the liberty of election in accordance with the ancient canons and the doctrine of the holy Fathers?[1]

It was in the following terms that he expressed his resolution to the clergy and people of the patriarchate of Aquilæa, during the interval between the first and second sentences of condemnation pronounced by him against investitures: "There is an ancient and well-known law, sanctioned not by men, but by Christ our Lord and Saviour in the fulness of His wisdom, which says, '*He that entereth in by the door is the shepherd of the sheep; but he that entereth by any other way is a thief and a robber.*'[2] For this reason, that which has long been neglected on account of sin—that which has been, and still is, corrupted by a detestable custom—we wish now to restore and to renew, for the honour of God and the salvation of Christendom, so that in every church the bishop charged to govern the people of God, ordained according to the Word of truth, may be neither thief nor robber, but worthy of the name and office of a shepherd. Such is our will, such our strong desire, and such shall be, by the mercy of God, as long as we live, the object of our unwearied efforts. For the rest, we do not wish either to hinder that which belongs to the service of the King or to interfere with the fidelity due to him.[3] We endeavour, therefore, to establish nothing new or of our own invention; we wish only that which the safety of all

quæ est sponsa Dei et mater nostra, non licet secundum impiorum votum et detestabilem consuetudinem, divina lege, propriaque voluntate suo sponso legaliter in terris adhærere. Non enim pati debemus ut filii sanctæ Ecclesiæ hæreticis, adulteris et invasoribus, quasi patribus subjiciantur, atque ab eis velut adulterina infamia notentur."—*Epist. Append.*, ii. 15; and ap. HUG. FLAVIN., p. 230.

[1] "Reparando in Ecclesia in canonicas electiones juxta pristinas canonum sententias."—GERHOT REICHERSP., and HUG. FLAV., ap. LABBE, p. 196.

[2] John, x.

[3] "Cæterum quod ad servitium et debitam fidelitatem regis pertinet, nequaquam contradicere aut impedire volumus."

requires—namely, that in the ordination of bishops, according to the unanimous feelings of the holy Fathers, the authority of the Gospel and the canons should be, above all, observed."[1] Then in this case, again, the innovation was entirely on the side of the adversaries of the Church. It was united also with a new enormity, which we have already pointed out—that of the absorption of the sovereign pontificate by the imperial power. From the time of Otho I. to that of Henry III., through a quarter of a century, Hildebrand had struggled against this excessive degradation and danger: first, by persuading Leo IX., named Pope by the emperor, to get his nomination ratified by the Roman Church; then by the decree of 1059, which gave the right of election to the cardinals, and annulled, with a trifling reservation, the imperial intervention; finally, by his own election, made without the consent of the German sovereign, and nevertheless confirmed by him. The glorious pontificate of Gregory set a seal on this gradual enfranchisement; and after him there was no longer any question of imperial confirmation. But this victory would have been sterile and incomplete—the Church would have but half escaped from her servitude—if the episcopate had remained under the yoke which the papacy had just shaken off. It was needful, then, to enfranchise the episcopal body, acting strictly in accordance with the ancient and inviolable rights of the Church; this was the necessary and immediate consequence of the emancipation of the papacy. Gregory VII. understood this: having delivered the one, he resolved to break the chains of the other; and by the formal condemnation of investitures, he began the work of liberation and salvation, which, after fifty years of struggle and of danger, was to be accomplished by the concordat of Worms.

Without doubt, such a struggle might have been, if not saved, at least much shortened and modified; but this

[1] ". . . Non secundum arbitrium nostrum, sed per viam et doctrinam orthodoxorum Patrum incedere cupimus."—*Epist.*, v. 5.

would have required the opponent to be a prince guided by Christian sentiments, ready to submit himself to the empire of faith, of virtue, and of reason. Gregory was, most certainly, a long way from feeling any systematic hostility towards the imperial power, or from seeking, as he has been so often and so childishly reproached with having done, to establish a sort of theocracy. His dream always was the close alliance of the temporal with the spiritual power, that they might work together for the good of humanity; which would not exclude the necessary subordination of the former to the latter in matters of conscience. But, as he wrote, immediately after his accession, to Duke Rodolph of Suabia, the chief of the German Catholics, "It was necessary that this alliance should be both open and pure; for just as the human body is guided by the physical light of its two eyes, so the two great powers of the Church and the empire, united by sincere religion, become the two eyes by which the spiritual light guides and enlightens the body of the Church."[1]

To correspond worthily with this great idea, and to make it the basis of a reform indispensable to the Church and to Christian society, needed a great man, a truly Christian king, such as Charlemagne, always filled with profound respect for spiritual power, or, better still, such as Alfred the Great, from whom history has transmitted to us these admirable words: "In the Church I am not king, but a simple citizen of the kingdom of Christ; and in this kingdom my duty is, not to rule the priests by my laws, but to submit myself humbly to the laws of Christ, as promulgated

[1] "Illud nobis videbantur consulere, per quod et status Imperii gloriosius regitur, et sanctæ Ecclesiæ vigor solidatur, videlicet ut sacerdotium et imperium in unitate concordiæ conjungantur . . . sed concordiam istam nihil fictum, nihil nisi purum decet habere. . . . Nam sicut duobus oculis humanum corpus temporali lumine regitur, ita his duabus dignitatibus in pura religione concordantibus corpus Ecclesiæ spirituali lumine regi et illuminari probatur."—REG., ii. epist. 19 (to Rodolph Duke of Suabia, ann. 1073).

by His priests."[1] Assuredly, if such had been the case, if Charlemagne or Alfred the Great had been the one to meet Gregory VII., it can hardly be realised to what greatness such an alliance would have raised Christendom. But God did not will that it should be so, and perhaps we should bless Him for it; for had the battle been less arduous, less sanguinary, perhaps the victory would have been less evident and less complete. Who can say, too, whether some equivocal compromise, whence mischief would have arisen later with an energy the greater for being the longer repressed, might not have obstructed the necessary decrees, and prevented the existence of those immortal examples which have pledged the Church to follow a path whence she could not swerve without—inadmissible hypothesis—disavowing her own acts? It is because this was the view they took that some of the most eminent contemporaries of Gregory VII. maintained that warfare, even the most serious, was not the greatest danger for the Church militant. "That heavenly mother," said a bishop of the eleventh century, who died a martyr under the sword of the imperialists, "is not made, any more than her children are, for servitude. It is when she is most oppressed that she is nearest to deliverance; it is when men seek to crush her that they add to her strength and greatness. No man may become the fellow-citizen of Abel in the kingdom of heaven, unless he has suffered in this world from the malice of Cain. When the children of Jerusalem are in chains, they are captives but not slaves; they weep sitting by the waters of their place of exile, but they hang their harps on the willows by the banks, refusing to sing in a strange land, and ever sighing for their country

[1] "Quod nunc raro invenitur in terris, illam maximam regis credidit esse dignitatem, nullam in ecclesiis Christi habere potestatem. Illa, inquit, regnantis dignitas, si se in regno Christi quæ est Ecclesia, non regem, sed civem cognoscat, si non in sacerdotes legibus dominetur, sed Christi legibus, quas promulga verunt sacerdotes, humiliter subjiciatur." —AILRED. RIEVALLENS., *ap.* NATAL. ALEXAND., *hist. Eccles.*, sæc. ix. c. 9; vol. vi. p. 206.

far away."[1] Unfortunately, Gregory, instead of having the support of a Charlemagne or an Alfred the Great, had to contend with a Henry IV.—that is to say, with a man undoubtedly possessed of courage and talent, but without bridle, without restraint, at once hasty and perfidious, accustomed to shrink from no extremity, to use cunning and violence by turns, and who, according to the words of a contemporary, "had no sooner ascended the throne of his ancestors than he laboured with all his might to place the Church under his heel, to be trodden under foot, like a vile slave, by his accomplices."[2]

With such an adversary, all compromise was impossible. In vain Gregory exhausted, during seven years, all means of conciliation—he was compelled to renounce all hope of this; and he then resolved, feeling that God had endowed him with a soul inaccessible to the weaknesses or deceptions of this world,[3] to go on steadily in the path of justice and goodness.

Gregory VII., as every historian deserving of the name now confesses, proved himself worthy of the noblest mission given to man since the days of St. Peter. If it had been otherwise, if this immortal pontiff had not comprehended the full meaning of his task, if he had not consecrated all his genius and all the power of his Church to it, he would have sunk to the rank of the *pontifex maximus* of pagan

[1] "Mater Ecclesiæ quæ sursum est, nec servit cum filiis suis, tum maxime liberatur, cum premitur, tum maxime crescit cum minuitur. Nemo enim, cœlestis regni Abel concivis esse merebitur nisi, qui in præsenti Cain malitia ad puerum limaverit. . . . Quod si filii Jerusalem aliquando captivi detinentur, tamen non serviunt; quod et si super flumina quidem sedentes flentes irriguas non delectantur, hi salicibus suspendunt organa et non cantant canticum in terra aliena, sed ad Jerusalem suspirant."—BONIZO, *lib. ad amic.*, p. 794.

[2] "Sic nimirum ille majorum ascendens currum, omnem Ecclesiam calcaneo supponere, calcandamque præbere vilem ut ancillam pro viribus conabatur."—PAUL BERNRIED, ap. GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 142.

[3] "Sed Romani pontificis constantia et invictus adversus avaritiam animus omnia excludebat argumenta humanæ fallaciæ."—LAMB., ann. 1075, apud PERTZ, v. 222.

Rome; Germany, under such a prince as Henry IV., would have offered to the world the same hideous spectacle as England under Henry VIII. Then would have been seen, in the former as in the latter country, bishops transformed into creatures of the tyrant, the Catholic nobility decimated by executions or dishonoured by complicity in sacrilege, the monasteries given up as a prey to greedy courtiers; all the glory and all the fruitfulness acquired by the Church of the middle ages would have been as if they had never existed; Christian society would have fallen back into the degradation of paganism; the world would have lost its light; the whole Church, fashioned to the pleasure of usurping laymen, would have sunk into that nothingness which the pride of impiety considers appropriate to her, and in which, among all schismatic nations, that phantom of association without independence which they dare to call a Church,[1] lies buried in an ignoble sleep.

[1] Let us hear on this subject the Anglican Bowden, whom the experience of religious revolutions has enlightened: "The system which the emperors of Germany wished to found," he says, "would have reduced the Church to the position of the organ and creature of secular power; and if it could have been consolidated, it would have bent this Church under the yoke of a degradation at once more cruel and more lasting than all the follies and all the vices of her pastors."—Vol. i. p. 116.

In another place the same writer adds: "The Church under pagan tyrants, who could only persecute her, would have had much less to suffer than under the yoke of so-called Christian monarchs, whose cause was identified with that of simony, impurity, and resistance to all interior reform, and whose power would have drawn, from the perfection of the feudal system, a solidity and a duration unknown to the tyrannies of which she had formerly been the victim. But the high counsels of heaven did not permit so dreadful a triumph."

We must acknowledge that neither Fleury, nor even the illustrious Bossuet, always fearing lest a resemblance should be found between Henry IV. and their great King Louis XIV., has understood as clearly as Bowden, an Englishman and a Protestant, the true nature of the great conflict of the eleventh century.

CHAPTER V

HOW AND WHY ST. GREGORY VII. DEPOSED HENRY IV.

In his struggle against the despotism of Henry III., Gregory VII. was supported by the public law of the middle ages.—The royal power, according to the councils, was conditional and limited.—Definition of the divine right of kings.—Hincmar of Rheims professes the same doctrines.—The power of deposing kings confided to the Pope.—The two powers, though distinct, had the same origin.—The right of deposing incapable or criminal kings belonged even to bishops.—The legitimacy of the right of deposition acknowledged by all princes.—The irresponsibility of royal power unknown in the eleventh century.—Hereditary kings as well as elected emperors were deposed.—No contemporary protests against these repressive measures.—Fine saying of Gregory VII.—He is the protector of the small nations of the West.—The reign of despotism put off for several centuries by his contest with Henry IV.—The prevaricating bishops all belonged to the party of the king.—Medieval opinion as to the right of deposition.—Henry IV. deposed by the German nobles.—Last efforts of the confederates to obtain justice.—No relation at first between the cause of Gregory VII. and that of the German insurgents.—Moderation one of the traits of his character.—Gregory ardently desires concord between the priesthood and the empire.—The pride of Henry IV. draws him on to the last extremities.—Gregory accounts for his conduct to the confederate princes and people.—Nothing disturbs Gregory's calmness and gentleness.—His unconquerable resolution and firmness.

THE triumphant resistance of Gregory not only saved the Church, but also political liberty in Christendom, by repressing and chastising, through an altogether unprecedented exercise of authority, the detestable tyranny which threatened at the same time society and the Church. It is important here to prove, that in resisting the despotism of Henry IV., in employing against him the universally

recognised supremacy of the papacy over all crowns and all powers, and in exercising his right of deposition, Gregory VII. depended for support at once on the traditions of the Church, the public law of Europe, and the unanimous consent of the medieval nations.

Neither in the great social contest then begun, nor in questions relative to the internal discipline of the Church, did Gregory VII. have recourse to any doctrine or proclaim any system of his own. On the contrary, he simply applied with strict equity, with extreme forbearance and courage, the law which contemporary princes firmly believed to be founded on reason and on religious and national traditions.

If there is one fact which is brought out more prominently than another by the study of medieval institutions, it is the essentially limited and conditional nature of power during the Catholic centuries. All the hereditary royalties of that period were tempered by the more or less frequent and direct intervention of the elective principle in all questions of contested minorities and successions. In general, the natural successor of a dead king was no more than the first candidate for the throne, and his authority was only recognised after it had been approved and ratified by the chiefs of the ecclesiastical and military orders in the ceremony of consecration.[1]

Moreover, the modern idea of absolute power, unconditional and inalienable, was absolutely unknown to the Christian society of the middle ages. No emperor or king ever attained that supremacy without having sworn to the Church and people that he would fulfil certain conditions and defend certain rights. The election of Philip I., King of the French, contemporary of Gregory VII., is an example

[1] On this point we must refer to the excellent remarks of M. Guizot on the manner in which the elective and the hereditary principles were combined in the French monarchy.—*Essai sur l'Histoire de France*, Es. iv. c. 3.

of this. At his consecration at Rheims, in 1059, in the lifetime of his father Henry, he began by swearing, before God and the saints, to preserve to the churches their canonical privileges, to render full justice to their claims, and to defend them as best he could with God's help, while at the same time promising to govern the nations confided to his care according to the laws and to equity;[1] after which, the Archbishop of Rheims elected him king,[2] the legates of the Pope being called upon to vote, but merely as a compliment, and not because the consent of the sovereign pontiff was thought necessary; after which, the twenty-four bishops and twenty-nine abbots present at the ceremony, the Duke of Aquitaine, the deputies of the Duke of Burgundy, the Counts of Flanders and Anjou, eleven other Counts, the Viscount de Limoges, gave their suffrages in succession; and finally, the knights and the people, small and great, who all cried three times, "We approve it, we desire it; so be it."[3]

There was, then, a reciprocal engagement between the sovereign on one part, the Church and the people on the other. The first obligation of kings was to profess the Catholic faith and to serve the Church; failing in this, they themselves destroyed their title and annulled the

[1] See the text of this oath, which it may be well to make known to those who believe in *unconditional* monarchies in the past: "Ego Philippus, Deo propitiante, mox futurus rex Francorum, in die ordinationis meæ promitto, coram Deo et sanctis ejus, quod unicuique vestrum et ecclesiis vobis commissis, canonicum privilegium, et debitam legem, atque justitiam conservabo, et defensionem, adjuvante Domino, quantum potero exhibebo, sicut rex in suo regno unicuique episcopo et ecclesiæ sibi commissæ per rectum exhibere debet: populo quoque vobis credito me dispensationem legum in suo jure consistentem nostra auctoritate concessurum."—LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. xii. p. 55, ed. COLETTI and DUCHESN., *Scriptor.*, vol. iv. p. 162.

[2] "Tunc, annuente patre ipsius Henrico, *elegit* eum in regem."—LABBE, *Concil., loc. cit.*

[3] "Post, milites et populi, tam majores quam minores, uno ore consentientes, laudaverunt, ter proclamantes: Laudamus, volumus, fiat."—*Ibid.*

engagements made with them. Such was the unanimous belief of the middle ages.[1]

From the fact that the royal power was thus limited and conditional, it resulted, naturally, that a king might and could be stopped, controlled, and restrained in the exercise of his authority, and, in case of need, deprived of the power which he had abused. On this point also all the medieval world was agreed. From the seventh century the laws of the Visigoths, as set forth in the famous code drawn up by the fathers of the Council of Toledo—in which we find one of the noblest monuments of the genius of the conquering German race, purified and interpreted by the wisdom of the Church[2]—recognised as a well-established principle the responsibility of kings and possible transference of the supreme power. It is thus that the sixty-two bishops assembled at the fourth Council of Toledo, in 633, less than thirty years after the death of St. Gregory the Great, proclaimed the laws that regulated Christian royalty: "The king is thus named (*rex*), because he governs rightly (*rectè*): if he acts with justice, he possesses lawfully the title of king; if not, he loses it miserably. Our fathers, therefore, said with reason, *Thou shalt be king if thou dost well; but if thou dost ill, thou shalt be so no longer.*"[3]

[1] HÖFLER, *die Deutsche Päbste*, vol. ii. 303; GOSSELIN, *du Pouvoir des papes au moyen âge*, chap. iii. art. 2. This last work contains the most precise demonstration of the laws above stated, which the learned director of St. Sulpice has drawn not only from history, but from the constitutions of all Christian countries.

[2] The *Forum judicum*, of which the first part (*De electione principum*) was the practical code of Spanish medieval royalty. This collection, finally arranged at the sixteenth Council of Toledo in 693, and translated into Spanish in the thirteenth century, continued in full force until the accession of the house of Austria and the establishment of modern despotism. M. Guizot has published, in the *Revue Française* of 1828, vol. vi. p. 202, some useful and profound reflections on the admirable code of the *Forum judicum*. We refer the reader to the dissertation of D. Manuel de Lardizabal, which precedes the fine Latin-Spanish edition of *Fuero Juzgo*, given by the Madrid Academy in 1815.

[3] We give M. Guizot's translation of the text, which is as follows:

Amid the many stipulations intended to secure the legitimate authority of kings and the inviolability of their persons, the same council puts on record the following warning: "In all that refers to the reigning king, as well as to future kings, we promulgate, in the fear of God, this sentence: If any one among them, despising the canons and the laws, and urged into crime by pride, by the arrogance of royalty, or by greed, shall exercise his authority over his people with cruelty, may he be smitten by our Lord Christ with His anathema, may he suffer separation from God and condemnation by the people."[1]

Two centuries later, in 829, the Council of Paris, assembled by the command of Louis le Debonnaire, made, in the name of the Church of France,[2] a solemn and detailed declara-

"Sicut sacerdos a sacrificando, ita et rex a moderamine pie regendo vocatur. Non autem pie regit qui non misericorditer corrigit; recte igitur faciendo regis nomen benigne tenetur, peccando vero miseriter amittitur; unde et apud veteres tale erat proverbium: *Rex ejus eris si recta facis*, si autem non facis, non eris."—*Forum judic.*, tit. i., *de elect. princ.*, sect. 1.

[1] "Sane tam de præsenti quam de futuris regibus hanc sententiam cum Dei timore promulgamus, ut si quis ex eis contra reverentiam canonum vel legum venerit superba dominatione, et faustu (sic) regio in flagitiis et facinore pravitatis sive cupiditatis et avaritiæ stimulis crudelissimam potestatem exercuerit in populis, anathematis sententia a Christo Domino condemnetur et habeat a Deo separationem atque judicium populi, quia præsumpserit prava agere et in perniciem regnum convertere."—*De electione principum*, c. iii., *ex concil. Tolet.*, iv. Chapter iv., which marks the distinction between the *functions* and the *person* of the king, is not less important. It has been remarked that the words *atque judicium populi* have been cut out in the first Spanish version, published in 1241 by order of St. Ferdinand. Madame de Staël has said truly, "Liberty is old; it is despotism which is new."

[2] At this Council there were present the Bishops of Rheims, Tours, Sens, and Rouen. Three other councils, called at the same time, brought together the other bishops at Mayence, Lyons, Toulouse; but their decrees have not reached us. Let us read the mandate to these councils, in the preamble of the Council of Paris: "Ut, Domino inspirante, diligenter studerent (patres), quærere et investigare de causis ad religionem Christianam *eorumque imperatorum* curam pertinentibus, quid a principibus et reliquo populo, vel ita ut divina auctoritas docet aut aliter teneretur, vel quid inde ex parte aut ex toto dimissum sit ut non teneretur. Deinde quid in ipsorum,

tion[1] of the rights and duties of royalty. This Act, at its commencement, is almost a textual repetition of the great principle enunciated by the Fathers of Toledo: "The king is thus called on account of the rectitude of his conduct: if he governs with justice, piety, and mercy, he is worthy to be called king; *if he fails in these qualities, he is not a king, but a tyrant.*"[2]

Further on, the Fathers of Paris repeat the same sentence, quoting it from St. Isidore, metropolitan of Seville, who presided at the fourth Council of Toledo. They then add the following magnificent definition of the *divine right* of royalty, so strangely confounded by modern theologians and publicists with the principle of heredity: "Let no king say to himself that his kingdom comes to him from his ancestors, but let him believe humbly and sincerely that he holds it from God—from that God who said by His prophet Jeremiah to the children of Israel: '*Thus shall ye say unto your masters; I have made the earth, the man and the beast that are upon the ground, by My great power and by My outstretched arm, and have given it unto whom it seemed meet unto Me*'—(Jer. xxvii.) Those who believe that their kingdom came to them from their ancestors rather than from God, are those whom the Lord reproved by the mouth of His prophet, saying, '*They have set up kings, but not by Me: they have made princes, and I knew it not*'—(Hosea viii.) Now, to be unknown of God is to be reproved by Him; thus whosoever has temporal authority over other men ought to understand that it is confided to him by God and not by man. Some reign by the grace of God, others by His per-

quid pastores populi constituti sunt, conversatione et actibus inveniri potest, quod divinæ regulæ atque auctoritati non concordaret," &c.

[1] Read the chapters or canons entitled, "*Quid sit rex, quid esse, quidve* carere debeat . . . quid sit proprium ministerium regis," &c.

[2] "Rex a recte agendo vocatur. Si enim pie et juste et misericorditer regit, merito rex appellatur; si his caruerit, non rex, sed tyrannus est."—LABBE, *Concil.*, ed. COLETTI, vol. ix. p. 747. Instead of *regit*, we read *agit* in the text of the same council given by BALUZE, ap. *Capitul.*, vol. i. 1146.

mission. Those who reign with piety, justice, and mercy, reign, without doubt, by the grace of God: others do not reign by His grace, but by His permission only; and it is of them that the Lord has said by the prophet Hosea, '*I gave thee a king in My anger.*' It is of them Job speaks when he says, '*It is God who makes the hypocrite reign on account of the sins of the people.*'"[1]

Following the example of the Council of Paris, the Councils of Aix-la-Chapelle, held 836, after the re-establishment of Louis le Debonnaire on the imperial throne, and of Mayence, 888, at the time of the final separation of the French and German monarchies,[2] both proclaimed, at the beginning of their Acts, the doctrine of St. Isidore, of the Fathers of Toledo, and of the Council of Paris, upon the change of royalty into tyranny.[3] At the same epoch the great Pope St. Nicholas I.,[4] showing himself entirely in accord with these principles, wrote to Bishop Adventitius of Metz:[5] "What you tell me of your submission to kings

[1] "Nemo regum a progenitoribus regnum sibi administrari, sed a Deo veraciter et humiliter credere debet dari, qui dicit, et . . . multi namque munera divino, multi etiam Dei permissu regnant. Qui pie et juste et misericorditer regnant, sine dubio per Deum regnant; qui vero secus, non ejus munere, sed permissu tantum regnant."—*Concil. Paris*, lib. ii. c. 5, ap. COLETTI, ix. 753.

[2] "Statuimus ut annuntietur glorioso regi nostro Domino Arnulpho, quid sit rex, quidve vocari debeat: Rex a recte regendo vocatur: si enim pie et juste," &c.—See Can. ii., ap. COLETTI, vol. x. p. 582.

[3] "Ut quid rex dictus sit, Isidorus in libro Sententiarum dicit: Rex a regendo vocatur; si enim pie," &c.—Ap. COLETTI, vol. ix. p. 830.

[4] Nicholas I. filled the papal throne from 858 to 867, and was placed in the Roman martyrology by Urban VIII.

[5] "Verum tamen videte utrum reges isti et principes quibus vos subjectos esse dicistis, veraciter reges et principes sunt. Videte si primum se bene regunt, deinde subditum populum, nam qui sibi nequam est, cui alii bonus erit? Videte si jure principantur: alioqui potius tyranni credendi sunt quam reges habendi; quibus magis resistere et ex adverso ascendere, quam subdi debemus. Alioquin si talibus subditi, et non prælati fuerimus, necesse est eorum vitiis faveamus. Ergo regi, quasi præcellenti, virtutibus scilicet, et non vitiis, subditi estote, sed sicut apostolus ait, propter Deum et non contra Deum."—*Regest. Nicol. I., Append. Ep.* iv., ap. COLETTI, vol. ix. p. 1506.

and princes, according to the words of the apostle, '*Sive Rege tanquam præcellenti*,' pleases me much; see, however, that these kings and princes whose authority you thus acknowledge are really kings and princes. See first of all if they govern themselves well, then if they govern their people well. See if they rule in virtue of the law, for otherwise they must be held tyrants rather than kings, and your duty would be to resist and oppose them rather than to obey them."

By a curious coincidence, Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, an illustrious contemporary of Pope Nicholas, sometimes opposed to the Holy See, and whom many writers, one copying the other, quote as the first author of the pretended Gallican liberties, wrote to King Louis III. in these words: "It is not you who have elected me to be the head of the Church, but I and my colleagues, with other faithful servants of God and of your ancestors, who have elected you to govern the kingdom on condition that you keep those laws which you are bound to obey."[1]

In England the same doctrine existed; the famous laws called the laws of Edward the Confessor, promulgated anew by William the Conqueror, declared that "the king, vicar of the greatest king, is endued with supreme power, in order that he may respect and venerate above all the Holy Church of God, and govern the earthly kingdom and people of the Lord, to protect them against wicked men, to extirpate and

[1] ". . . Pontifices reges ordinare possunt, reges autem pontifices consecrare non possunt. Et pontificibus dixit Deus: '*Qui vos audit, me audit, et qui vos spernit*, id est contemnit et despicit, *me* contemnit. Et qui contemnunt me, *erunt ignobiles*.' Non ergo debueratis ita inverecunde qualicumque pontifici scribere, vestræ ditioni commissum. Quia sicut dixit Dominus apostolis suis quorum minimus sum merito successor autem officio 'non vos me elegistis, sed ego elegi vos,' ita et ego juxta modulum meum humili corde ac voce dicere possum, non vos me elegistis in prælatione ecclesiæ, sed ego cum collegis meis, et cæteris Dei ac progenitorum vestrorum fidelibus, vos elegi ad regimen regni, sub CONDITIONE *debitas* leges servandi."—HINCMAR, *Epist.*, ad Ludov. III., *Opera*, vol. ii. p. 198.

annihilate evil-doers; if he does not do this, he ought to be deprived even of the very title of king."[1]

Thus the axiom which summed up this principle with most canonical brevity, "*Thou shalt be king if thou dost well; if thou dost ill thou shalt be so no longer*"[2]—an axiom which the Fathers at Toledo quoted as old in the seventh century—retained all its force in the eleventh, and was constantly appealed to in Catholic writings against the imperialists.

For the rest, written proofs are superfluous, for facts speak louder than laws. In those times, as the Count le Maistre has well said, "Thanks to the Roman Church, the great European charter was proclaimed, not on mere paper, nor by the voice of common criers, but in all the hearts of Europe, then entirely Catholic."

The necessity and lawfulness of restraining the abuses of royal power once admitted, it became necessary to decide by whom this restraining authority should be exercised, and to what hands should be confided the redoubtable mission of judging and punishing kings.

The men of the time, nobles and bishops, at once feudatories of royalty and representatives of the body of the people, were fully resolved in no way to relinquish such a prerogative; and they evidently believed that they had the right, in case of need, to take the initiative and exercise

[1] "Rex autem, qui vicarius summi regis est, ad hoc est constitutus ut regnum terrenum, et populum domini, et super omnia sanctam veneretur ecclesiam ejus, et regat, et ab injuriosis defendat, et maleficos ab ea evellat et destruat et penitus disperdat. *Quod nisi fecerit, nec nomen regis in eo constabit verum, testante papa Joanne, nomen regis perdit.*"—Art. 17, alias 15, ap. WILKINS, *Leges Anglo-Saxonicæ*, vol. i.; CANCIANI, *Leges barbar.* M. l'Abbé Gosselin, quoting this passage, points out the audacious mutilation committed by an erudite Gallican of the eighteenth century, the lawyer HOUARD, who, reproducing textually, as he affirms, the laws of St. Edward, in his *Traité des coutumes anglo-normandes*, has simply cut out the last phrase of the passage quoted above.

[2] "Recte igitur faciendo nomen regis tenetur, alioquin amittitur; unde est hoc vetus elogium: *Rex eris, si recte facis; si non facis, non eris.*"—BERTHOLD, ann. 1077, ap. PERTZ, v. 297.

unreservedly this extreme power. Thus the French nobles and prelates twice overthrew the dynasty which governed them, which was also done by the German princes, who deposed Henry and elected Rodolph of Suabia, *without the Pope's consent.*[1] But a just and salutary instinct as to the necessary existence of some principle of authority in this world, seems to have early revealed to them that this restraining force, to be efficacious and respected, ought to be exercised with as much prudence and charity as energy and courage, and that these conditions could not be found united anywhere to the same degree as in the head of the universal Church. Kings were more interested than any one in the universal acceptance of such an opinion: for it carried their cause before the most august and impartial tribunal which could exist in the world: it placed their interests in the hands which could always best unite justice with indulgence, and Christian liberty with respect for human greatness. The Popes accepted this mission, but they had not sought it. It fell into their hands in virtue of the needs of society, as well as of the incomparable majesty of the power which they derived from God Himself. It had been yielded to them, as it were, by the unanimous suffrage of Christendom, which by degrees, from the eighth to the eleventh century, formed itself into a great European law. This law is clearly expressed in the following words, addressed to the head of the Church by a French monk half a century before Gregory VII.'s accession to the pontificate: "We know, reverend Father, that thou hast been made vicar of the universal Church in place of the Blessed Peter, so as to raise up those who are unjustly oppressed, and to restrain, by the authority of St. Peter, those who raise their heads more highly than they ought to do."[2]

[1] This appears from a passage of the Canon Paul Bernried (chap. xcvii.), which we quote at length a little further on.

[2] Letter of Albert, Abbot of Mesmin, to John XIX.: "Novimus te,

It was thus acknowledged then, by the whole world, that temporal sovereignty was amenable to the Church, and that at the same time the vicar of that God to whom kings would have to give account of their actions in the other world, ought to be their judge in this.[1] It did not result from this, as prejudiced and superficial judges have affirmed, that the great principle of *the distinction and relative independence of the two powers*, spiritual and temporal, was despised and misunderstood. This principle, which has so often been brought forward as a weapon against the Church, but which she has always been able to turn against her adversaries, was then admitted and recognised by the doctors and pontiffs most devoted to the freedom of the Church. St. Gregory VII. had himself proclaimed it in the letter already quoted, where he declares that the priesthood and the imperial authority are the two eyes by which the spiritual light should rule and illuminate the body of the Church.[2] Two centuries earlier, in 881, the Fathers of the Council of Rheims, under the guidance of the famous Hincmar, to whose proud words we called attention a little while back, had protested in magnificent language against all confusion

Pater Reverende, constitutum in terris vicarium universalis Ecclesiæ vice B. Petri apostoli, ut sustentes eos qui injuste opprimuntur, et opprimas eos auctoritate B. Petri qui se nimium erigunt."—Ap. MABILL., *Ann. bened.*, b. liii. c. 57.

[1] We may admit or reject the *law*, but it is impossible to deny the *fact* of the general opinion. This fact is established in the most indisputable manner in the profound and solid work of M. l'Abbé Gosselin, *du Pouvoir du papes au moyen âge*. The evidence of this learned writer is the more valuable, because he combats the principles of the Ultramontane doctors, and is inclined, in our opinion, to exaggerate the disorders of the middle ages. According to us, he shows unanswerably that the right of deposition, as it was exercised by popes from the eleventh to the thirteenth century, was founded on the public and human law of Catholic Europe; but this public and human law could not, we think, exclude the divine and indirect right with which the Church is invested in virtue of her nature and institution, as Cardinal Bellarmine and Count le Maistre have taught and explained—a right in which the doctors and the faithful of the middle ages certainly believed.

[2] *Regest.*, b. i. ep. 19.

of the two powers. This was proscribed, because with it would have come back that confusion between the priesthood and the empire which existed among the pagans before its destruction by Christ, for the salvation of souls and the succouring of human frailty. "Our Lord Jesus Christ alone," they said, "was able to be at once true king and true priest; but since He ascended into heaven, no king has dared to usurp the pontifical, no pontiff the royal power. In Him existed together, by the fact of His glorious birth, the kingdom and the priesthood: but He remembered human weakness; He provided, with generous care, for the safety of His people; He would have salvation worked out by a salutary humility—not imperilled afresh by human pride: and this is why, modifying the state of things which existed among the pagans before His incarnation, where the same man was emperor and sovereign pontiff, He has tempered and separated the dignities and functions of the two powers in such a manner that Christian kings should not be able to do without pontiffs, if they would gain eternal life; and that, on the other hand, the pontiffs should be obliged to use the royal laws in the course of temporal affairs in such a way as to preserve the spiritual life from the encroachments of the flesh—that he who fights for God should not entirely avoid all secular burdens, and at the same time, he who has to bear these burdens should not appear to preside over the things of God."[1]

It is evident, then, that no one claimed that all temporal rulers should receive their jurisdiction from the Church, nor that the Church should interpose directly in secular affairs. But this distinction, though incontestable and uncontested,

[1] "Solus enim dominus noster J. C. vere fieri potuit rex et sacerdos. Post incarnationem vero et resurrectionem et ascensionem ejus in cœlum, nec rex pontificis dignitatem, nec pontifex regiam potestatem sibi usurpare præsumpsit. . . ."—*Concil.*, ap. S. Macram, ann. 881, ap. LABBE, *Concil.*, ed. COLETTI, vol. ix. p. 510. This text is enlarged upon by Hincmar, President of the council *in admonit. pro Carolomanno rege.*, Oper., ed. SIRMOND, vol. ii. p. 216.

could not, in the midst of a society exclusively Christian and Catholic, have the same range or the same urgency as at the present day. Because the two powers were distinct, and in several points independent of each other, it did not follow, in the eyes of any Christian, that they were equal. On the contrary, the superiority of the spiritual power in dignity, plenitude, and extent was universally acknowledged. The French bishops assembled at the Council of Rheims in 881, after the declaration we have just quoted as to the distinction of the two powers, continued in these words: "The dignity of the pontiffs is the more superior to that of the kings, that these kings are consecrated by the pontiffs, while the pontiffs cannot be so by kings; and the responsibility of the pontiffs is the heavier, that they have to render account for the actions of kings, as well as of other men, at the judgment of God."[1]

These expressions, already sanctioned by the French bishops at the Council of Paris in 829,[2] and by the German bishops at that of Aix-la-Chapelle in 830, were almost the same as those used in the fifth century by Pope St. Gelasius to the Emperor Anastasius.[3] About the same time, in 833, Pope Gregory IV., in a letter of reprimand addressed to the bishops of France, and drawn up by the holy abbot Wala, cousin to Charlemagne, expressed himself thus: "You ought not to be ignorant that the government of souls which belongs to the pontiffs, is above that of temporal matters, which belongs to the emperors."[4] And the Pope quoted St. Gregory Nazianzen, who, preaching

[1] "Tanto eis dignitas pontificum major quam regum, quia reges in culmen regium sacrantur a pontificibus, pontifices autem a regibus consecrari non possunt: et tanto gravius pondus est sacerdotum quam regum, quanto etiam pro ipsis regibus hominum in divino reddituri sunt examine rationem." —Ap. LABBE, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Concil. Paris*, vi. lib. i. c. iii., ap. COLETTI, ix. 711.

[3] Epist. 10.

[4] "Neque ignorare debueratis, majus esse regnum animarum, quod est pontificale, quam temporale, quod est imperiale."—EPIST. GREG., iv., No. 3, ap. COLETTI, *Conc.*, ix. p. 685.

before the emperors of Constantinople, said to them: "If you have received the liberty of the Word, you must admit without difficulty that the law of Christ has placed you in subjection to our sacerdotal authority and to our tribunals, and that He has given us a power and a sovereignty far more perfect than yours; else would you be forced to hold that the spirit should be subordinated to the flesh, heaven to earth, and God to man."[1]

Gregory VII., then, said nothing which should have seemed strange or new when, in his famous letter to the Bishop of Metz, after having reminded him that, in the very words of St. Ambrose, gold is not more superior to lead than the priesthood to royalty, he added: "Your fraternity must remember that a simple exorcist is endowed with a greater power than is given to any layman whatsoever invested with secular dominion; for this exorcist is constituted a spiritual emperor, to bring about the expulsion of demons."[2]

Besides, we must not forget that in the eyes of the men of that age the two powers, though distinct in their object, their limits, and, above all, in their exercise, had one origin

[1] "Suscipitisne libertatem verbi? Libenter accipitis quod lex Christi sacerdotali vos nostræ subjicit potestati, atque istis tribunalibus subdit? Dedit enim et vobis potestatem, dedit principatum, multo perfectiorem principatibus vestris. Aut numquid justum vobis videtur si cedat spiritus carni, si a terrenis cœlestia superantur, si divinis præferantur humana."—S. GREG. NAZ., *de Jarem. dict. ibid.*

[2] ". . . Et B. Ambrosius . . . in suis scriptis ostendit quod aurum non tam pretiosius sit plumbo quam regia potestate sit altior dignitas sacerdotali. . . . Major potestas exorcistæ conceditur, cum spiritualis imperator ad adjiciendos dæmones constituitur, quam alicui laicorum causa sæcularis dominationis tribui possit."—*Regest.*, lib. viii. ep. 21. Are not these the same principles as those which Innocent III. insisted upon in his discourse to the ambassadors of Philip of Suabia?—"Principibus datur potestas in terris, sacerdotibus autem potestas tribuitur in cœlis; illis solummodo super corpora, istis etiam super animas. Unde quanto dignior est anima corpore, tanto dignius est sacerdotium quam sit regnum."—Epist. i., ed. Baluze, vol. i. p. 547. Boniface VIII. held the same language in his bull *Unam Sanctam*.

and one sanction—the Divine institution. The Church and society formed but one and the same body, governed by two different forces,[1] of which one was, by its nature, essentially inferior to the other.

It is thus that the subordination of all Christians, not excepting crowned heads, to the pontifical authority, led, in certain extreme cases, to the subordination of the Crown itself. Nobody, indeed, being able to deny to the Church the right of directing consciences in temporal matters, of determining the nature of sin, of defining the limits of good and evil, it was concluded that to her should belong the right of settling those questions of conscience which were connected with the government of society.[2] To provoke the Church, as did in succession nearly all the nations of Christendom—to exercise the functions of arbitrator between subjects and kings—and to employ against the crimes or abuses of sovereignty that penal system which entered into every medieval constitution,—was to extend the authority of that Church beyond the bounds indispensable to its existence, but was not, as has been said, to bridge a gulf: it was believed then that the pastoral authority to which the right had been given, according to the apostle, to judge angels, to bind and loose in heaven, must have the right to judge, as

[1] Such is clearly the sense of the declaration of the Council of Paris in 829: "Principaliter itaque totius sanctæ Dei Ecclesiæ corpus in duas eximias personas, in sacerdotalem videlicet et regalem, sicut a sanctis patribus traditum accepimus, divisum esse novimus . . . cum hæc quippe ita se habeant, primum de sacerdotali, post de regali persona dicendum statuimus."—Lib. i. c. 3; COLETTI, vol. ix. p. 710.

[2] Innocent III. and Boniface VIII., the two popes who have best defined the extent of the pontifical power, held the same language. Innocent III.: "Non enim intendimus judicare de feudo . . . sed decernere de peccato cujus ad nos pertinet sine dubitatione censura, quam in quemlibet exercere possumus et debemus."—*Epist. ad reg. et episc. Franciæ in Decret.*, lib. ii. tit. i., and Epist., vol. vi. p. 163. Boniface VIII.: "Dicimus quod in nullo volumus usurpare jurisdictionem regis. . . . Non potest negare rex, seu quicumque alter fidelis, quin sit nobis subjectus, ratione peccati."—*Hist. du diff. entre Boniface VIII. et Philippe le Bel. Preuves*, p. 77.

a last resort, in terrestrial causes;[1] and no one was surprised to find that the Church, which had received from God full power to procure the salvation of souls, should also have that of saving society and repressing the excesses of those by whom it was disturbed. It is possible that this faith, peculiar to the times of which we are speaking, might be difficult to reconcile with the vital principle of the distinction of the two powers: but logic is not always infallible nor always beneficent; and if we have here a political or theological inconsequence, it may well be affirmed that there never was one more *happy* and more *legitimate*. Never has there been found a system more justly and naturally applicable to a society where religion had gained a universal and uncontested ascendancy; and never, certainly, has one been imagined better calculated at once to maintain and control the sovereign authority.

In fact, the right to depose and supersede incapable or criminal kings, after having subjected them to public penance, was exercised by the bishops as well as by popes, and even before popes. We find a memorable example of this in the life of Wamba, King of the Spanish Visigoths. This prince was obliged by the Spanish bishops to retain the monastic habit which he had adopted during a severe illness; and after his deposition, the Fathers of the twelfth Council of Toledo, in 681, released his subjects from their oath of allegiance.[2]

We find also the French bishops, with the Archbishop of

[1] "Si enim cœlestia et spiritualia sedes B. Petri solvit et judicat, quanto magis terrena et secularia, juxta illud Apostoli: Nescitis, inquit, quoniam angelos judicabimus, quanto magis secularia?"—(1 Cor. vi. 3) PAUL. BERNRIED., c. 97.

[2] "Considentibus episcopis, atque senioribus palatii universis, et ideo soluta manus populi, ab omni vinculo juramenti, quæ prædicto viro Wambæ, dum regnum adhuc teneret, alligata permansit, hunc solum serenissimum Erwigium principem obsequenda grato servitii famulatu sequatur et libera; quem et divinum judicium in regno præelegit, et decessor princeps successorem sibi instituit, et quod super est, quem totius populi amabilitas exquisivit."—*Can. I.*, ap. COLETTI, *Conc.*, vol. vii. pp. 143-234.

Rheims at their head, sanctioning and proclaiming, in spite of the Pope, the deposition of the Emperor Louis le Débonnaire, at the Council of Compiègne,[1] in 833; and though this unjust sentence was annulled, and though it excited general indignation throughout Christendom, it is not said in any contemporary monument that the right, in virtue of which the bishops acted, was ever contested.[2]

As to the exercise of an analogous power by the popes, Fleury himself allows that two hundred years before Gregory VII., the sovereign pontiffs had begun to decide upon the rights of monarchs.[3] We do not know, indeed, why the

[1] The preamble to the acts of the Council of Compiègne is expressed thus: "Quia idem princeps ministerium sibi commissum negligenter tractaverit, &c., et ab eo divino justoque judicio subito imperialis sit subtracta potestas . . .; quia *potestate privatus erat terrena*, juxta divinum concilium et *ecclesiasticam auctoritatem*."—COLETTI, *Concil.*, vol. ix. p. 803.

The principal promoters of this sentence, after Archbishop Ebbo of Rheims, were the celebrated Agobard, Archbishop of Lyon; the Archbishops of Vienna and of Narbonne; the Bishops of Amiens, Troyes, Auxerre, &c. It is very striking that it should have been the bishops of France who inaugurated what it has been agreed to consider as the most condemnable excess of Ultramontanism. As to Pope Gregory IV., who had crossed the Alps with the hope of re-establishing peace between Louis le Débonnaire and his sons, seeing that his efforts were useless, he returned to Rome, as the author of the life of Louis says, "cum maximo mœrore" (c. 48).

[2] There is no mention, either in historians of Louis's party or in the records of the councils which revoked the sentence of Compiègne, of any reproaches as to usurpation of power being addressed to the authors of the emperor's deposition. The bishops were reproached, not with having encroached upon the independence of the crown, but with having falsely accused and condemned an innocent man: "*Damnatum et absentem* (?) *et inauditum neque confitentem, neque convictum . . . arma deponere cogunt.*"—(*Vit. Ludov. Pii*, c. 49, ap. D. BOUQUET, vol. vi.) Louis accused Archbishop Ebbo at the Council of Metz: "Quod eum falso fuerat criminatus, et iisdem *falsis criminibus* appetitum e regno defecerat, armisque ablatis, nec confessum, nec convictum, contra regulas ecclesiasticas ab ecclesiæ aditu eliminaverat."—*Chron. Camerac.*, vol. i. c. 41. And it was for these reasons and no others that Archbishop Ebbo was deposed at Thionville in 835: "Quoniam imperatorem falso criminatum et injuste ab imperiali sede depositum publicæ pœnitentiæ subdidit."—HINCM., *Adv. Gothescale.*, c. 36.

[3] FLEURY, *Discours sur l'histoire ecclésiastique*, from 600 to 1100, No. 18.

historian limits himself to this period of two centuries; for, as early as 752, it is well known that Pope Zacharias had been called upon by the Franks to give judgment upon the question of the expulsion of the Merovingian race.[1] As to the imperial dignity, which was then the highest form of temporal authority, and constituted a sort of special fief of the Holy See, it could only be conferred by the Pope, and after the prince had taken a solemn oath to devote himself to the defence of the Church.[2]

By accepting the imperial crown from the hands of Leo III., Charlemagne had, in the eyes of all Western Europe, ratified the universal supremacy of the Roman pontiff.[3] His successors, Louis le Débonnaire and Lothaire, acknowledged after him that the imperial dignity was derived only from papal consecration;[4] and the Emperor Louis II., writing to Basil, the Macedonian emperor of the East, to justify his ancestors for having assumed the imperial title, founds their right exclusively on the fact of the imperial power being conferred on them by the judgment of the Church and the unction by the sovereign pontiff.[5]

Otho the Great—who delivered the papacy from the dan-

[1] See the numerous proofs of this fact in GOSSELIN, p. 484 *et seq.*

[2] See the formula of this oath in the Sacramentary of St. Gregory, published by MURATORI, *Liturgia romana vetus*, vol. ii. p. 455. The illustrious editor shows that this Sacramentary dates from the first year of the ninth century. Cenni, Sigonius, and others, think that Charlemagne himself took this oath. Such is not the opinion of l'Abbé Gosselin. In his excellent *History of Germany*, G. Phillips shows that this oath is not the ordinary oath of vassalage, but a special one of devotion to the person of the Pope and to the Church.—*Deutsche Geschichte*, vol. ii. p. 263.

[3] This very just remark is made by the Anglican BOWDEN, p. 41.

[4] PHILLIPS, *Deutsche Geschichte*, cc. 9, 48, vol. ii. p. 273.

[5] "Jam ab avo nostro non usurpante, ut perhibes, sed Dei nutu et Ecclesiæ judicio summique pontificis per impositionem et unctionem manus (sic) obtinuit. . . . Matrem omnium Ecclesiam Dei defendendam atque sublimandam suscepimus, ex qua et regnandi et postmodum imperandi auctoritatem prosapiæ nostræ seminarium sumpsit. Nam Francorum principes, primo reges, deinde vero imperatores dicti sunt, et dumtaxat, qui a romano pontifice ad hoc oleo sancto perfusi sunt."—*Epist. apolog. Ludov. Imp. ad Basil. imp.*, ap. BARON., *Annal.*, ann. 871, Nos. 56–59.

gers which threatened it in Italy, and recovered the imperial dignity for the royal family of Germany, in whose hands it has remained ever since—before being consecrated emperor, and even before entering Rome, had been obliged to swear fidelity to the Roman Church and to the Pope, whose fate was in his hands.[1] The Emperor St. Henry had sworn the same oath to Pope Benedict VIII.;[2] and, curiously enough, the Emperor Henry III., father of Gregory VII.'s great adversary, though reputed absolute master of the destinies of the papacy, invoked the pontifical authority against the King of Castile, who had arrogated to himself the title of emperor; and the judge and arbiter of the controversy was Hildebrand, then legate of Pope Victor II. at the Council of Tours.[3] After all this, can we be surprised that nations should attribute to the authority which thus conferred the supreme dignity in temporal affairs, the right to withdraw it in certain cases from its possessors?

But we must add that the right of deposition was derived from a yet more certain source—that is to say, from the power of excommunication exercised from the earliest times by the Church—a punishment which, once pronounced, involved the breaking off of all relations with the faithful, and, with still greater reason, the loss of all dignity and authority: unless the guilty person succeeded in obtaining absolution during the year which followed the promulgation of the sentence. This was the universal and acknowledged law of the middle ages[4]—a law recognised and accepted by all

[1] See the text of this sermon in PERTZ, *Mon. hist. Germ., leges.*, vol. ii. p. 29.

[2] DITMAR. MERSEB., b. vii., ap. LEIBNITZ, *Script. rer. Brunswic.*, i. 400.

[3] LABBE and COLETTI, *Conc.*, vol. xii. p. 7.

[4] We do not think the existence of this right can be seriously disputed after the double proof of it given with equal moderation and learning by M. Gosselin, director of St. Sulpice (*du Pouvoir des papes au moyen âge*), and by the Abbé Jager, professor at the Sorbonne (cf. *Introduction to the Hist. of Greg. VII.*, by VOIGT). It is enough for us to recall the canon of the Council of Verceil, in 755, placed by Charlemagne in the Capitularies (Baluze, vol. i. p. 1071), and according to which, the excommunicated

temporal authorities, as well as by the spiritual power, and adopted by the unanimous consent of nations, and especially by the German race.[1]

There was no exception in favour of kings. On the contrary, we may say that it was against them, in case of obstinate resistance to the judgments of the Church, that repressive laws and decrees were specially directed. How, indeed, in the midst of a society entirely penetrated by Catholicism, would it have been possible to imagine the maintenance of supreme authority in the hands of a man excluded, by his own will, from the sacraments of the Church? Was it not to be expected that the excommunicated impenitent, after having betrayed God, would also betray the fidelity he had sworn to his people?[2]

Henry IV., even when he procured from his bishops a sentence of deposition against Gregory VII.,[3] acknowledged that he himself might be deposed if he abandoned the faith.[4] The monarch's defenders contented themselves, says Fleury, with declaring that a sovereign could not be excommunicated,[5]—a pretension absurd in itself, which was assailed by Gregory in his famous letters to Hermann, Bishop of Metz,[6] and which besides was, as a matter of fact, contradicted by numerous examples from the time when St. Ambrose gave sentence against the Great Theodosius,[7] to that of the recent

person who did not give satisfaction to the Church was condemned to exile. We refer the reader to the work of M. Gosselin for the numerous and unanswerable proofs which he had collected.

[1] See the very precise text of Paul Bernried, Bonizo, and Hugo de Flavigny on this subject.

[2] FÉNELON, Dissertation *de auctoritate summi pontificis*, c. 39, p. 335. M. Gosselin has quoted and commented on it.

[3] At the Assembly of Worms, January 24, 1076.

[4] "Me quoque qui licet indignus inter christos ad regnum suum unctus, tetigisti, quem sanctorum patrum traditio soli Deo judicandum docuit, nec *pro aliquo crimine nisi a fide*, quod absit, exorbitaverim, deponendum asseruit."—*Cod. Udalr. Babenb.*, No. 163, ap. ECCARD., vol. ii.

[5] FLEURY, *Discours sur l'Église*, from 600 to 1100, No. 18.

[6] *Regest. Greg. VII.*, ap. LABBE, *Concil.*, b. iv. *ep.* 2, and viii. *ep.* 21.

[7] See the long list of examples quoted by BERTHOLD, *Ann.*, ad ann.

excommunication by Gregory V. of Robert, King of the French. Apart from these facts, however, the right of excommunication and of eventual deposition was proved in the celebrated charters granted by Gregory the Great,[1] who, while granting certain privileges to the Hospice of Autun and the monastery of St. Medard of Soissons, declared all laymen, even sovereigns, who should violate these privileges, deprived of their dignity. Gregory VII. more than once took care to shelter himself under the imposing authority of the most illustrious of his predecessors.[2]

1077, ap. PERTZ, 297. Cf. BONIZO, *Lib. ad amicum*, pp. 814, 815, ap. ŒFELE. The latter's quotations are not always exact.

[1] Here is the text of the privileges of Autun: "Si quis vero regum, sacerdotum, judicum, personarumque sæcularium hanc constitutionis nostræ paginam agnoscens, contra eam venire tentaverit potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat, reumque se divino judicio existere de perpetrata iniquitate cognoscat. Et nisi vel ea quæ ab illo mala ablata sunt, restituerit, vel digna pœnitentia illicite acta defleverit, a sacratissimo corpore ac sanguine Dei et Domini nostri redemptoris Jesu Christi alienus fiat, atque in æterno examine districtæ ultioni subjaceat."—SANCTI GREGORII MAGNI, *Opera regist. epist.*, lib. xiii. ep. 8, ed. Bened., 1705, vol. ii. p. 1223.

Privileges of St. Medard: "Si quis autem regum, antistitum, judicum vel quarumcumque secularium personarum, hujus apostolicæ auctoritatis et nostræ præceptionis decreta violaverit, aut contradixerit, aut negligenter duxerit, vel fratres inquietaverit, vel conturbaverit, vel aliter ordinaverit, cujuscumque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo privetur, et ut catholicæ fidei depravator, vel sanctæ Ecclesiæ destructor, a consortio christianitatis, et corpore ac sanguine D. N. J. C. sequestretur, et omnium maledictionum anathemate, quibus infideles et hæretici ab initio sæculi usque in præsens damnati sunt, cum Juda traditore Domini in inferno inferiori damnetur, nisi digna pœnitentia præfatorum sanctorum sibi propitiaverit clementiam et fratrum communem reconciliaverit concordiam."—*Epist. append.*, No. 4, *ubi supra*, p. 1287. According to FLEURY (i. 62, No. 22), and according to others, this clause has been interpolated. DOM DENIS DE STE MARTHE, editor of the works of St. Gregory, proves its authenticity from all the MSS. of France and Italy. MABILLON, *De re diplomat.*, b. ii., also rejects the idea of interpolation.

[2] Lib. iv. epist. 2 and 22, and lib. vii. epist. 21, to Hermann of Metz, where he enumerates the different precedents on which he acts. This is how Gregory's principal biographer expresses himself on this subject: "Nemo autem romanorum pontifices reges deponere posse, denegabit, quicumque decreta sanctissimi papæ Gregorii non prescribenda judicabit. Ipse enim vir apostolicus, cui Spiritus sanctus in aurem decernenda dict-

The lawfulness of the sentence pronounced by Gregory VII. against Henry IV. was acknowledged by the *unanimous* voice of the princes and prelates assembled at Tribur in October 1076, who ratified it in the most solemn manner, declaring that, in conformity with the laws of the Germanic empire, the king must be irrevocably deprived and stripped of his crown if he did not obtain absolution before the term fixed in the sentence of excommunication (February 13, 1076).[1]

The most devoted partisans of Henry IV., even the bishops who took part in the sentence of deposition pronounced in the name of the emperor against Gregory, at Worms, declared to the monarch that they could only remain faithful to him on condition of his obtaining the required absolution.[2] Henry feigned to yield to the advice given him;

avit in apostolica sede constitutus, irrefragabiliter decrevit, reges a suis dignitatibus cadere, et participatione dominici corporis et sanguinis carere, si præsumerent sedis apostolicæ jussa contemnere."—PAUL. BERNRIED., c. 97.

[1] "Ultramontani principes . . . legem suam nolebant destruere, quia perscriptum est, ut si quis ante annum et diem ab excommunicatione non fuerit solutus, omni careat dignitatis honore."—BONIZO, *Lib. ad amicum*, p. 815.

Nothing can be more decided on this question than the testimony of Lambert of Aschaffenburg, whose impartiality and moderation all acknowledge. He proves clearly that Henry IV. shared the general conviction of the absolute necessity for obtaining absolution within the prescribed time, and that this was his reason for hurrying to Canossa to seek absolution for the past: "Rex etiam certo sciens, omnem suam in eo verti salutem si ante anniversarium diem excommunicatione absolveretur . . . quia nisi ante eam diem anathemate absolveretur, decretum noverat principum sententia ut . . . regnum *sine ullo deinceps remedio amisisset.*"—LAMBERT, ann. 1076-77, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. pp. 254-256. The ambassadors of Henry IV., in order to persuade Gregory to absolve their prince without the presence of his accusers, represented that,—"Si ante hanc diem excommunicatione non absolvatur, deinceps *juxta palatinas leges*, indignus regio honore habeatur."—*Ibid.*, p. 258. Paul Bernried says also that Henry and his accomplices were in haste to obtain absolution,—"*Quia, juxta legem teutonicorum, se prædiis et beneficiis privandos esse non dubitabant, si sub excommunicatione integrum annum permanerent.*"—*De Gest. Greg. VII.*, c. 85

[2] "Plures illorum quos in apostolica depositione desipuisse diximus. . . .

but it was really in obedience to the most subtle policy[1] that he secretly crossed the Alps in mid-winter, and, to the great surprise of all, and against the will of Gregory,[2] made his appearance at Canossa in order to humble himself before the Vicar of Jesus Christ,[3] and to obtain absolution before any act of accusation against him had been read, and before the expiration of the fatal year.

Thanks to the indulgence of Gregory, and to the intervention of the Countess Matilda, the prince's manœuvre succeeded. By the help of some outward show of repentance and of penance, and on the simple promise that he would appear before the diet of German nobles, to be judged, whenever Gregory should require it, and that he would submit to the sentence of the assembly presided over by the Pope, Henry obtained that absolution the urgent need of which he understood too well not to desire it ardently. Thus the famous absolution of Canossa, far from being, as has so often been asserted, a humiliation imposed by the pontiff, was, on the contrary, a kindness, a favour, implored with eagerness and obtained by address, and for which Henry, in presence of his mother, feigned the warmest

Hi ergo absolutione quæsita et obtenta, consilium dederunt regi ut, sicut ipsi erant absoluti, ita et ipse studeret absolvi vinculis anathematis. Adjicientes quia, si annus clauderetur antequam absolveretur, *omni eorum servitio privaretur et amplius pro rege non haberetur*, quia in ejus communione vel servitio certi erant de imminenti animæ periculo."—HUG. FLAVIN., *Chron. Virdun.*, p. 216.

[1] "Inito tam occulto quam astuto consilio," says one of the king's apologists.—*Vit. Henr.*, ap. URSTISIUM, *Script.* p. 382. Cf. STENTZEL, vol. i. p. 1103.

[2] Gregory objected that he neither could nor ought to absolve the prince except in the presence of his accusers.

[3] January 28, 1077. On the subject of the Communion offered by Gregory, and refused by Henry, we can only refer to the note by Döllinger in his *Manual of Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii. sect. 86, p. 145. This historian thinks he has reason to infer, from a careful study of contemporary authors, that the Pope did offer the Communion to Henry as a token of his absolution, and that the king received it. Bonizo's account (p. 816) seems to agree with this opinion.

gratitude, and a desire to render himself worthy of it by docile acceptance of all its stipulations![1] It was only at a later period, after having fully profited by that stroke of policy, that the king protested against the pontifical jurisdiction, furious at the election of Rodolph by the German princes,[2] and yielding to the evil counsels of the bishops and nobles of Germany,[3] who threatened to put his son in his place; "because," they said, "he had humbled his pride before the Pope."[4] We may judge from these facts how little the modern theory of the inalienable nature of royal power was then known or believed in even by the bitterest enemies of the Holy See. Henry IV. perfectly understood that by his submission he should disarm his most formidable enemies and strike a terrible blow at the confederates.

It must be allowed, however, that towards the end of the reign of Gregory VII. certain prelates, servilely devoted to the debauched prince who justified their own misdemeanours, invented, for the benefit of their cause, a doctrine which tended to liberate from all responsibility and all restraint the kings whose crimes were most patent and whose vices were most shameful.[5] But this doctrine, which a contem-

[1] "Satis in facie devotus et obediens apparebat papæ, nam ab omnium episcoporum se consortio sequestrabat, reputans eos excommunicatos, noctibus eorum nefariis acquiescens consiliis . . . maxime metuens præsentiam matris suæ religiosissimæ imperatricis."—BONIZO, 816. This author gives the most precise and little-known details as to the conduct of Henry IV. during the crisis of Canossa.

[2] BONIZO, *loc. cit.* Henry, *simulata humilitate*, begged the Pope to excommunicate Rodolph. Gregory promised to do so if that prince did not give a satisfactory account of his conduct. The king would agree to no delay.

[3] Gregory formally accuses the Lombard bishops, whom he thus describes: "Cum illi, qui in Ecclesia Dei columnæ esse debuerunt, non modo in compage corporis Christi nullum locum teneant, sed pertinaciter impugnatores, et quantum ad se destructores existant."—*Epist. ad Germ.*, ap. HUG. FLAVIN., p. 217.

[4] "Una omnium voluntas, una sententia erat, ut abdicato patre, qui ultro regni fascibus se indignum effecisset, filium ejus . . . regem sibi facerent." LAMBERT, ann. 1077, ap. PERTZ, 261.

[5] "Tunc vero, quæ hæresis et seminarium erat clericorum, pertinaces

porary declares to be unheard of, and incompatible with the laws of the time,[1] was greeted with mingled surprise and horror by Catholics; and we cannot quote, from the tenth century to the fourteenth, a single doctor known and esteemed in the Church who would have dared to admit it; while the contrary doctrine, that of the conditional and limited nature of royal power, and of the responsibility of sovereigns to the vicar of Christ, was professed and defended by the most eminent doctors of the Church, and accepted by the sovereigns of the different nations until the seventeenth century.[2]

Other apologists of the excommunicated king employed against the Catholics an argument drawn from the oath of fealty which the vassals of the empire, ecclesiastics as well as seculars, had sworn to him. But the religious party found no difficulty in refuting this. St. Gebhard, Archbishop of Salzburg, the most eminent prelate of the Catholic party in Germany, spoke thus:—

"Real treason towards a prince consists in sustaining and

nonnulli passim concionati sunt, in reges quanquam hæreticos et cunctis flagitiorum facinorumque reatibus exoletos, sanguinarios, nefandissimos, necnon omnifariam profanos et sacrilegos, nec ipsius Papæ nec alicujus magistratuum judicium et sententiam cadere non debere."—BERTOLD., ann. 1077, ap. PERTZ, 296. The principal teachers of this new theory were Waltram, Bishop of Naumberg, and the scholar Wenrich, who wrote against Gregory in the name of Bishop Thierry of Verdun. See MARTÈNE, *Thesaur. anecd.*, vol. i. p. 220.

[1] "Plurima, *regibus inaudita hactenus*, in synagogis suis fabulosis ineptiarum et nugarum proferebant privilegia, jus publicum ignorantes." —*Ibid.*

[2] Among the doctors we may quote Gratian, St. Bernard, Geffroy of Vendôme, Hugh of St. Victor, St. Thomas of Canterbury, John of Salisbury, Henry of Suza, St. Thomas Aquinas, Innocent III., Boniface VIII., St. Pius V., Sixtus V., Cardinals Bellarmine and Duperron, and the great Leibnitz. Among princes: Lothair I., Charles the Bald, Louis the German, Otho the Great, the Emperor St. Henry, St. Edward Confessor, William the Conqueror, Henry II. of England, St. Louis, the Emperors Frederic II., Otho IX., Louis of Bavaria, and finally, Charles V. in his Capitulations. The documents relating to these personages are all given with comments, in the valuable work, already quoted, by M. Gosselin, &c.,

encouraging him in enterprises which lead to dishonour and ruin. To help him in his crimes under pretext of fidelity, to complete the work of cruelty and falsehood, is to fail both in faith and duty: by this means we should be compelled to disobey the Pope, and hold communion with the excommunicated; and in order not to break faith with the prince, must fall into the old dilemma of pagan persecutors—*If you would be Cæsar's friend, sacrifice to the gods; if not, give yourself up to execution:* and thus would break our faith to the King of kings, and transform ourselves into apostates and infidels towards God. We have never pledged our faith to anything which was incompatible with the duties of our order. What!" added the prelate, addressing himself specially to the bishops,—"you speak of the promise which binds you to the prince, and you forget that you have sworn faith and obedience to the blessed Peter and his successors! Do you put a higher value upon the oath sworn in the bed-chamber of the king, or in his court amidst the tumult of the palace, than of that which you took before the holy altar, on the relics of the martyrs, and in presence of Christ and of His Church?"[1]

Thus spoke the orthodox bishops; and if laymen expressed themselves in different terms, it was at least in the same spirit: "Yes," said the ambassadors of the insurgent Saxons to Henry IV. in 1073, "we have taken an oath of allegiance to you; but on condition that you should reign for the edification and not for the destruction of the Church—on condition that you should follow justice, the law, and the customs of our fathers, and that you should maintain inviolable to each one his rank, to each his dignity, to each the protection of the laws. But if you begin by violating these conditions, then we are no longer bound by our oath, and can lawfully wage war with you, as with a barbarous enemy, the oppressor of the Christian name; and while a spark of life remains

[1] We only sum up here the beautiful letter of St. Gebhard to the Bishop of Metz on this question.—Ap. GRETSER, vol. vi. pp. 441-445.

within us, we will contend against you for the Church of God, for the Christian faith, and for our freedom!"[1]

It is, further, essential to remark, that the just and lawful right of excommunication, as well as that of deposition which proceeded from it, were applicable not solely to the empire, which was an elective dignity, attached, as has been said, by a special tie to the Holy See. The language used by St. Gregory VII. regarding Philip, king of the French, although the latter was the head of a hereditary and independent kingdom, will prove this. The very year of his accession, Gregory, indignant at the odious conduct of Philip, whose perverse cupidity and tyrannical violence were beyond all restraint,[2] and who treated the Church not as a mother, but as a servant, wrote in these terms to the Bishop of Châlons:—

"If Philip will not amend, let him be certain that we will not suffer him to oppress the Church of God much longer, and that by the authority of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul we will chastise his obstinate disobedience with the

[1] "Sacramento se ei fidem dixisse; sed si ad sedificationem, non ad destructionem Ecclesiæ Dei, rex esse vellet, si juste, si legitime, si more majorum rebus moderaretur, si suum cuique ordinem, suam dignitatem, suas leges tutas inviolatasque manere pateretur. Sin ista prior ipse temerasset, se jam sacramenti hujus religione non teneri, sed quasi cum barbaro hoste et Christiani nominis oppressore justum deinceps bellum gesturos, et quoad ultimi vitalis caloris scintilla superesset, pro Ecclesia Dei, pro fide christiana, pro libertate etiam sua dimicaturos. Vehementer regem permovit hæc legatio."—LAMBERT, ann. 1073, ap. PERTZ, v. 197. It seems to us that these admirable words, so carefully omitted by most modern historians, ought *vehementer permovere* two classes of the willingly blind—those who think they can found the doctrines of the inalienability of power and monarchic absolutism on the tradition of Catholic nations, and those who assert that the principles of political liberty and dignity have only had their birth in the eighteenth century.

[2] "Inter ceteros nostri hujus temporis principes, qui Ecclesiam Dei perversa cupiditate venumdando dissipaverunt, et matrem suam, cui ex dominico præcepto honorem et reverentiam debuerant, ancillari subjectione penitus conculcarunt, Philippum regem Francorum gallicanas ecclesias intantum oppressisse certa ratione didicimus, ut ad summum tam detestandi facinoris cumulum pervenisse videatur."—*Regest. Greg. VII.*, lib. i. epist. 35.

severest canonical discipline. One of two things ; either the king shall entirely renounce the shameful traffic of heretical simony, and allow that only priests worthy of our confidence should be chosen as bishops [1]—or the French, struck by a general anathema, shall cease to obey a prince who, unless he abandon the course he is now following, will end by apostasy from Christian faith." [2]

The following year Gregory VII. addressed to all the bishops of France an eloquent utterance of his indignation on the subject of the pillage to which merchants and pilgrims were subject, and, condemning other vices of the time, attributed their origin to Philip of France—"a wretched and useless prince, to whom the name of king should no longer be given, since he was a tyrant who gave his support to all sorts of crime, encouraging evil-doers by his example."

The Pope then reproaches the bishops with having made themselves the king's accomplices by the weakness of their opposition, and begs them to work upon the fears of Philip by threatening him with a general interdict. "And if," adds Gregory, "this chastisement does not bring him to repentance, we would have every one know that, with God's help, we will use all means to deliver the realm of France from such a king." [3] The Pontiff, at the same time, charged William of Poitiers, Duke of Aquitaine, to come to an understanding with some of the chief nobles of the kingdom, in order to exhort the royal offender, and bring him to acknow-

[1] ". . . Nam aut rex ipse repudiato turpi simoniacæ hæresis mercimonio, idoneas ad sacrum regimen personas promoveri permittet ; aut Franci pro certo, nisi fidem christianam abjicere maluerint, generalis anathematis mucrone percussi, illi ulterius obtemperare recusabunt."—*Regest. Greg. VII.*, lib. i. epist. 35.

[2] "Rex vester, qui non rex sed tyrannus dicendus est . . . suscepto regni gubernaculo miser et infelix inutiliter gerens . . . ad omnia quæ dici et agi nefas est, operum et studiorum suorum exemplis incitavit."—Ep., lib. ii. p. 5.

[3] "Nulli clam aut dubium esse volumus, quin modis omnibus regnum Franciæ de ejus occupatione, adjuvante Deo, tentemus eripere."—Ep., lib. ii. p. 5.

ledge his iniquities and change his life. If they should not succeed, the Pope pledged himself solemnly to excommunicate Philip of France, and all who should continue to recognise him as king, in the approaching Council at Rome. "We declare," added the holy father, "that we will confirm this excommunication on the altar of St. Peter, for we have too long concealed, out of regard for the lord king, the injuries done to the Church; but now let him know that his perversity has become so scandalous, that even if he possessed the enormous power used by the pagan emperors against the holy martyrs, no fear of him should induce us to leave his guilt unpunished."[1]

There is nothing in the writings of the time to show that these public assertions of a supreme and controlling authority produced the smallest remonstrance from the subjects of the kingdom, either clerical or lay. Philip probably succeeded, by promises and pretences of reform, in turning aside the storm which threatened him; but having fallen back, during the next pontificate, into still more shameful misconduct, the Holy See, at the Council of Clermont, finally launched against him the sentence of excommunication; and the king, like Henry IV. at Canossa, had to obtain absolution from the Pope before the expiration of the year, in order to escape the deposition which awaited every sovereign who refused to humble himself.

William the Conqueror has been much applauded for refusing the oath of fidelity demanded of him by Gregory VII.; and Bossuet has not hesitated to stigmatise with the title of "shameless encroacher"[2] the illustrious Pontiff,

[1] "Præcipue monemus quatenus ex illis (episcopis) et nobilioribus Franciæ melioribus quibusdam adhibitis, iniquitates suas sibi notificetur. . . . A corpore et communione S. Ecclesiæ ipsum et quicumque sibi regalem honorem vel obedientiam exhibuerit, sine dubio sequestrabimus. . . . Si tantæ valetudinis tantæque fortitudinis esset, quantam pagani imperatores sanctis martyribus intulerunt, nos timore aliquo tot et tantas iniquitates nullo modo impunitas dimitteremus."—Lib. ii. ep. 18.

[2] *Invercundum petitorem*, says the Bishop of Meaux, in his *Défense de la déclaration*, b. i. sect. i. c. 12.

who, nevertheless, did but require from the victor of Hastings a homage which all the emperors of the West were bound to render to the Holy See. The great bishop should have remembered that William, before undertaking the conquest of England, had thought fit to consult the Holy See as to the right which he supposed himself to have to the throne of Great Britain, and that it was owing to the mediation of Hildebrand, then a cardinal, that Alexander II. consented to recognise the legitimacy of his claim.[1] A Norman chronicle adds to this, that the Bastard of Normandy had sworn that if he succeeded he would hold his kingdom from God and the holy father as His vicar, and from no one else.

Gregory was, then, perfectly authorised to claim the execution of a promise made, and to exercise a sort of supremacy over a State, the head of which, by his own will, had appealed to the Holy See to sanction his title. William, moreover, in no way contested the right of the Pope to the general supremacy of which we have just spoken; he simply denied that he himself had made any promise.[2] Gregory did not insist: but he refused, in his

[1] M. Jager, in his Course of Eccles. Hist., *Université cath.*, vol. xix. p. 426, has brought to light an important passage on this subject: "And afterwards the Duke assembled his council and sent notable messengers and good clerks to the Pope to show his right, and how Harold was perjured; wherefore he required leave to conquer his right, submitting, if God should give him grace to succeed, *to hold the throne of England from God*, and from the holy father as His vicar, and from no others."—D. BOUQUET, vol. xviii. p. 227. This chronicle is, however, only a translation made in the thirteenth century of the *Roman du Rou*, a poem written in the preceding century by Robert Wace, which expresses itself in nearly the same manner.—Vol. ii. p. 141, ed. Pluquet.

[2] The letter in which William grants the tribute but refuses *fidelity* (*fidelitatem*)—that is, the oath of fidelity and homage—to the Pope, is found among the letters of Lanfranc, No. 7, in D'Achery's edition. The learned Benedictine adds on this subject: "Ex uno sequitur alterum, nempe ex tributo persoluto, subsequi fidelitatem necesse erat. . . . Si quidem nihil aliud intellexere prisci reges per illum denarium annuatim persolvendum, quam tributarium vel feudatarium, libera atque christiana voluntate, S. Petro ejusque successoribus regnum consecrare."—P. 347.

turn, the arrears of tribute which William offered in compensation; "for," he said to his legate, with just and Christian pride, "I will not accept money without submission."[1]

There were, besides, other States over which the papacy could and did exercise, not only the right of control belonging to its spiritual supremacy, but also a direct and special suzerainty, in virtue of ancient traditions or express donations made by the formal vow of the interested parties. These were either isolated and feeble countries, or kingdoms scarcely delivered from the pagan yoke, or newly entered, for other reasons, into the great Christian family. Let us instance, for example, in the first place, the new State formed by Norman warriors in the Two Sicilies. History teaches us that the glorious founder of this little kingdom, Robert Guiscard, set forth its origin and conditions of existence, in his reply to the ambassadors of Henry IV., who offered him, in that prince's name, the title of king if he would agree to hold it from the empire, as follows: "I have delivered this land from the power of the Greeks, with great effusion of blood, great poverty, and great misery; . . . to restrain the pride of the Saracens, I have endured beyond seas hunger and many tribulations; and, that I might obtain the help of God, that my superior, St. Peter, and my lord, St. Paul, to whom all the kingdoms of

And William ends his letter thus: "Orate pro nobis . . . quia antecessores vestros dilexímus et vos præ omnibus sincere diligere et obedienter audire desideramus."

[1] "Nam pecunias sine honore tributas quanti precii habeam, tu ipse optime potuisti dudum perpendere."—Ep. vii. to the legate Hugh, who remained in England under pretext of collecting the tribute. Gregory had always much liked William, and, during the first years of his pontificate, had called this prince the only true son of the Church among kings (ep. i. 31)—the only one he could love (ep. i. 69)—because he alone loved justice (ep. iv. 17). In spite of the ingratitude just quoted, and of other wrongs to the Church, Gregory would not quarrel with the Conqueror; and in a last letter to the legate Hugh, he explains the reasons for his long-suffering (ep. ix. 5).

the world are subject, might pray God for me, I have chosen to submit myself to their vicar, the Pope, with all the land I have conquered—desiring to receive it back from the hand of the Pope, so that, through the power of God, I may protect myself from the malice of the Saracens, and may vanquish the pride of the Greeks, who had subjected all Sicily. . . . Now that Almighty God, having given me glory in victory, has subdued under me a land once dominated by an oppressor, I have become greater than any other among my people; and as it is fitting for me to be the subject of that God whose grace has made me victorious, it is from Him that I acknowledge myself to hold that land which you say you are willing to give me."[1] We may mention also Corsica,[2] Sardinia,[3] Dalmatia,[4] Spain,[5] Provence,[6] Hungary,[7] Servia,[8] Russia,[9] and Poland,[10] among the countries over which Gregory VII. claimed and exercised a temporal and direct supremacy, which, we may fearlessly affirm, was a true benefit to these little countries.

Far from wishing to wound their dignity or their independence, it was, on the contrary, to protect and assert both, that Gregory stretched the sword of his authority over those small nations continually threatened either by their

[1] The adroit Norman adds: "But since the hand of my lord the king is just and liberal, let him give me something that belongs to him, over and above that which I possess, and I will do homage to him, always saving my fidelity to the Church."—*L'Ystoire de li Normans*, vii. 27, ed. Champollion, p. 215.

[2] Ep. v. 2, 3.

[3] Ep. i. 29, 41, and ep. viii. 10. See the excellent refutation of Bossuet's accusations on this point by M. Rohrbacher, *Hist. univ. de l'Église*, i. 65, xix. 247.

[4] Ep. vii. 4. [5] Ep. iv. 28.

[6] Ep. v. 12.—Juramentum Bertramni comitis.

[7] Ep. ii. 13, 63, 70. [8] Ep. v. 12. [9] Ep. ii. 74.

[10] Our assertion has been admitted in different degrees by Protestants (LEO, *Handbuch*, p. 118; BOWDEN, vol. i. p. 336; and above all, LÜDEN, ix. 563). It will be confirmed by what we shall say later about the foundation and enfranchisement of the kingdom of Portugal in the time of St. Bernard.

powerful neighbours or by the German emperors, who, for the most part, claimed a general supremacy over all crowns. It is true that, to punish Boleslas the Cruel for having cut to pieces St. Stanislas, Bishop of Cracow, who had resisted him, Gregory dethroned the tyrant, and deprived Poland of the title[1] of kingdom; but was not this sentence, against which no one rebelled, and which rid Poland of a monster, founded on the very conditions of the royal dignity, in a country whose sovereigns had formerly solicited and obtained the title of king from the Holy See? On the other hand, the Pope protected the rising sovereignty of Russia, which was then Catholic, against the encroachment of the Poles;[2] and he granted to the son of Demetrius, King of the Russians, with the latter's express consent, the right of holding his kingdom from the Holy See as a gift of St. Peter.[3] Having conferred the title of king on another Demetrius, Duke of the Slavs of Croatia and Dalmatia, Gregory watched over that new nationality with jealous care; and he thus addresses, in a letter, one of the nobles of the country, who, after having sworn fidelity to St. Peter, had nevertheless taken up arms against the new king: "We warn your lordship, and command you, in the name of the blessed Peter, no longer to dare to make war on your sovereign; for be assured, whatever you attempt against him, you attempt against the Apostolic See. If you have any complaint to make against your king, it is from us you should demand judgment—it is from us you should expect justice—rather than take arms against him in contempt of the Holy See. If you do not repent of your temerity, if you attempt to contravene our order, know, and hold for certain, that we will draw against you the sword of the blessed Peter, and

[1] BARONIUS, ann. 1079.

[2] Ep. ii. 73.

[3] Ep. ii. 74. Translated by Fleury in the following terms: "Gregory VII. extended his pretensions even over the Russians."—Cf. ROHRBACHER, *Hist. univ. de l'Église*, vol. xiv. p. 199.

that we will punish you and your adherents, if you do not at once show yourself penitent."[1]

Again, if Gregory VII. interfered with the succession to the throne of Hungary, it was to prevent that kingdom, whose founder, St. Stephen, had received from Rome the crown and title of *Apostolic*, from becoming, by the fault of one of its claimants, a fief of the realm of Germany. "You know," the Pope wrote to the Hungarian sovereign, "that the kingdom of Hungary, like many others, ought to be free, and dependent on no other sovereignty except that of the holy and universal Roman Church, her mother, whose subjects are treated, not as serfs, but as sons." And elsewhere: "This most noble kingdom ought to flourish in peace, and maintain its own sovereignty, that its king may not degenerate into a kinglet. But by despising the noble patronage of St. Peter, on which, as you know, the country depends, King Solomon has reduced himself to the necessity of submitting to the German king, and become nothing more than a kinglet."[2]

Thus the proud and jealous independence of the Hungarian people, so carefully preserved through so many ages, had for its first defender against the power of Germany no other than the Pope St. Gregory VII.!

We conclude, then, from all which has gone before, that in the political direction of Christian society, as well as in the government of the Church, Gregory VII. was no inno-

[1] "Quod si te tuæ temeritatis non pœnituerit, sed contra mandatum nostrum contumaciter ire tentaveris, scias indubitanter quia gladium B. Petri in audaciam tuam evaginabimus et eodem pertinaciam tuam . . . nisi resipiscas, mulctabimus."—Ep. vii. 4.

[2] "Notum tibi esse credimus, regnum Hungariæ sicut et alia nobilissima regna *in propriæ libertatis statu* debere esse, et nulli regi alterius regni subjici, nisi sanctæ et universali matri Romanæ ecclesiæ, quæ subjectos non habet ut servos, sed ut filios suscipit universos."—Ep. ii. 63. And elsewhere: "Ut fiat in pace nobilissimum regnum Hungariæ, quod hactenus *per se* principaliter viguit, ut rex ibi non regulus fiat. Verum ubi contempto nobili dominio B. Petri . . . rex subdidit se Teutonico regi, et reguli nomen obtinuit."—Ep. ii. 70.

vator, added nothing to the doctrines of his predecessors, and contented himself with being the first to apply rigorously a rule which was deeply rooted in the convictions of all Christian nations. But this is not all; good faith obliges us to acknowledge that in acting upon this rule, Gregory, as he wrote to the faithful in Germany, firmly believed himself to be fulfilling a duty imposed by both human and divine law.

We may remark, however, that the ancient right which Gregory VII. has been blamed for exercising had never, in the middle ages, been contested by any but those who suffered from it.[1] And when has the world accepted as competent judges of the lawfulness of a decision those whom it condemned? In the middle ages, no one doubted that the Church had the right to punish; but sometimes the punishment itself was resisted. In modern times, on the contrary, it is allowed that the punishment may be merited, but the right of applying it has been contested as an excess of pretension. The result is, that the right and the fact being both admitted and approved by judges different indeed, but in harmony on a point where their impartiality cannot be suspected, thus constitute between them a judgment beyond appeal.[2]

[1] " . . . Propter quæ (Scelera) cum excommunicari, non solum usque ad dignam satisfactionem, sed ab omni honore regni, absque spe recuperationis, debere destitui, *divinarum et humanarum legum testatur auctoritas omnibus episcopis, ducibus, comitibus, ceterisque fidelibus in regno Teutonicorum christianam fidem defendentibus.*"—Ap. PAUL BERNRIED, *De Vit. S. Greg. VII.*, c. 78.

[2] The Count le Maistre well says: "Princes suffering from the Pope's anathema contested its justice only, and were quite ready to use it against their enemies, which they could not do without acknowledging the real existence of the power. . . . *The authority of popes over kings was contested only by those whom it pressed upon. . . . In general, every innovator finds the Church infallible until she condemns him.*"—Count LE MAISTRE, *du Pape*, b. ii. c. 10, and iv. c. 6. The great writer has not consulted contemporary authorities for the struggle of the medieval popes: it is evident that he has contented himself with works at second-hand—Maimbourg, Muratori, &c. But even through this veil he has perceived the truth with all the clear-sightedness of genius.

There is another point of view which deserves in the highest degree the sympathetic attention of lovers of the truth. Beyond the questions of divine right and of Catholic tradition, we are bound to acknowledge that the principles and conduct of St. Gregory have rendered the most signal service to the political constitution of Christian Europe, and to the maintenance of those liberties which then secured society against despotism. Medieval Christianity had a just horror of the monstrous absorption of all social forces in a single power, without limit and without control; its beliefs, its traditions, and its customs, all agreed in inspiring an invincible repulsion against unlimited and unconditional monarchy, such as pagan Rome had endured under the emperors, and such as still existed, in all its ignominy, among the Greeks at Constantinople. Thanks to the support afforded by the papacy, Christendom long escaped this odious yoke. Gregory, by beginning the glorious and pregnant struggle known under the name of the *War of Investitures*, or the *War of the Priesthood against the Empire*, had the honour of retarding for several centuries the advent of absolute power in Europe, and the victory of pagan traditions, which since that time have made of the European nations a collection of passive crowds and busy officials; of the law and its interpreters mere instruments of despotism; of the court of sovereigns an antechamber; of royalty an idol; and of the Church a handmaid.[1]

Superficial writers have seen in the efforts of Gregory a reaction against the feudal system: this, however, shows great ignorance both of the nature of that system and of the mind of the Pontiff. Monarchical power, then as always, tended to aggrandise itself to an indefinite extent; the principle of the medieval social constitution was to temper royal authority by that of the nobles and bishops.

[1] "A people of servants" (*ein Bedientenvolk*), says Gfrörer, speaking of the situation of the Germans after the Thirty Years' War, which put a seal upon the state of servitude inaugurated by the Reformation.

The latter class often formed the majority in the political assemblies of the empire and other Christian kingdoms; the hereditary descent of the great fiefs guaranteed the independence of the lay feudatories; but the prelates would have been only the servile instruments of monarchic ambition and despotism if kings, using and abusing simony and investiture, had become absolute masters of ecclesiastical dignities, and had been able to choose as they pleased, among the obscure and unworthy clerks who filled their palaces, docile creatures of their own to place in the quality of bishops or abbots at the head of the government of States and in the great national councils.[1] Social equilibrium would thus necessarily have been destroyed; it could be maintained only by the purity of ecclesiastical election, which, in its turn, could only be secured by the energetic resistance and independence of the Roman pontificate.[2] We see then, finally, that it was the papacy on which depended the maintenance of the social constitution of the middle ages;[3] and this explains why, in their struggle with the emperors, the popes could always count on the support of all the great lay vassals who were not allied to the reigning dynasty by ties of blood or by the immediate origin of their fortune.

This support did not fail Gregory VII.; and on his side he never failed those brave men who perceived the advantage of finding, in the highest authority of the Christian world, an effectual help against the encroachments of imperial power. This is the secret of the alliance which for so long

[1] LEO, *Lehrbuch der Geschichte des Mittelalters;* Halle, 1830; pp. 145, 146 *passim.*

[2] LEO, p. 119. The writer adds: "The 'popes were the bulwark of political liberty in the middle ages, and their influence in temporal matters was only annulled when they seemed to ignore the secret of their power."

[3] "The authority of the popes," says Count le Maistre (*du Pape*, b. ii. c. 9), "was the power chosen and instituted in the middle ages to balance temporal sovereignty and RENDER IT SUPPORTABLE TO MEN."

attached, more or less closely, to the cause of the papacy,[1] not only all the princes of Saxony or Lower Germany, but also those of the south,—such as Rodolph, Duke of Suabia; Welf, Duke of Bavaria; the powerful house of Zöhringen; the Counts of Steffeln, of Stühlingen, of Toggenburg, and many others.

All these laymen fought with energy and perseverance under the banners of the Church against Henry IV.; while the great majority of the German bishops, who owed their sees to simony, held by the Emperor and supported him with all their might. The princes and nobles of Germany, beside the indignation which they must have felt as Christians at sight of the triumph of simony and the terrible scandals of their king's private life, had also to reproach him with most serious inroads upon the rights and liberties guaranteed by the constitution of the empire, and on the dignity and independence of each member of the great German race.

Surrounded by his false bishops, and by those men of low birth whom he had raised to the highest honour, Henry meditated the destruction of the nobility,[2] which then, with the clergy, composed the real and legal power of the nation. The means he employed were, confiscation of the greatest fiefs of the empire, impositions levied at the imperial caprice, arbitrary imprisonments, oppressions, and violence of all kinds.[3] His avowed object, says an old German chronicle, was "to leave alive in his kingdom no other lord but himself, so that he might be the sole master of all."[4] To attain

[1] "Cum universi fere ab eo (Henrico) Germaniæ seculares principes defecissent."—ONUPH. PANWIN, *Vit. Greg. VII.*, apud GRETSER, p. 109.

[2] "Replicabant . . . quod remotis a familiaritate sua principibus, infimos homines et nullis majoribus ortos summis honoribus extulisset, et cum eis noctes perinde ac dies in deliberationibus insumens, ultimum, si possit, nobilitati exterminium machinaretur."—LAMB. SCHAFNAB., ann. 1076, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 252.

[3] These complaints, often repeated, may be found, in detail, in Lamb. of Aschaffenburg and Bruno.

[4] "Ut solus omnium dominus esset, nullum in regno suo dominum vivere vellet."—*Chron. Macdeb.*, apud. MEIBOM., *Script. rer Germ.*, vol. ii. p. 304.

this he was forced to build fortresses, not, as the princes declared at the Diet of Tribur in 1076, for the protection of the empire against the pagans, but to destroy all security in the country, to bow the heads of free men under the yoke of the hardest servitude.[1] The blood of innumerable innocent persons flowed by his orders, with no other reason, as St. Gebhard, Archbishop of Salzburg,[2] declared, than "to make serfs of those whose fathers had been free men."[3]

In such circumstances, the heads of the nobility and the Church, founding their action on the laws of their country and age, thought themselves fully authorised in deposing the prince guilty of such attacks upon the accepted constitution of society. We may find some aid in understanding their motives in the works of a contemporary historian of the struggle, who, after quoting the example of the French and of King Childeric III., continues thus: "Free men had chosen Henry for king, on condition that he should justly judge and wisely govern those who had elected him. But this compact the prince continually violated and treated with contempt, oppressing his subjects, and forcing as many Christians as he could to violate the laws of religion. For these reasons, and *without the aid of the pontifical sentence*, the German princes might, in all justice, have refused to recognise him as king, since he had broken the agreement accepted by him as the condition of his election. Now, this compact having been torn in twain, is it not evident that Henry had ceased to be king, he whose entire aim it had been not to govern his subjects, but to plunge them into error? Is it not certain that every vassal is bound by his oath of fidelity to his lord, just as long as the lord on his side accomplishes the duty

[1] "Non quibus vis et impetus barbarorum arceatur, sed quibus patriæ tranquillitas eripiatur et liberis servicibus durissimæ servitutis jugum imponatur."

[2] At the interview of Kauffungen in February 1081.

[3] "Cognatos sive milites nostros in nostris finibus innocentes occidit, cum nulla fuisset ei causa bellorum, nisi quod servos habere volebat filios hominum liberorum."—BRUNO, *de bello Saxon.*, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 382.

he owes to his vassal? If the lord fails in his duty, has not the vassal a right to consider himself freed from all obligation of vassalage? Certainly he has a thousandfold this right, for no one can accuse him of infidelity or perjury if he has fulfilled his promise by fighting for his lord as long as the latter was faithful to his engagements towards his vassal."[1] After this, let the reader turn his attention to the following speech, which, according to another contemporary historian, was addressed to the Assembly which decided on the great rising of 1075, by Duke Otho of Mordheim, one of the principal leaders of the insurrection: "Perhaps, because you are Christians, you fear to violate your oaths made to King Henry. Your fear is no doubt just; but your oaths, to be binding, must have been made to a true monarch. While Henry was king, and did the duty of a king, I served him faithfully; but since he has ceased to be king, it is no longer to him that I owe allegiance. I have therefore taken up arms and drawn my sword, not against the king, but against the robber of my freedom; not against my country, but for my country, and for that freedom which no man worthy of the name ought to give up but with his life: I exhort you, therefore, to do as I have done. To arms, then! secure for your children the inheritance you received from your fathers, and do not suffer strangers to bring you and your posterity into servitude."[2]

[1] "Liberi homines eo pacto sibi proposuerunt in regem, et electores suos juste judicare et regali Providentia gubernare satageret: quod pactum ille prævaricari et contemnere non cessavit: videlicet, quoslibet innoxios tyrannica crudelitate opprimendo, et omnes quos potuit christianæ religioni repugnare constringendo. Ergo et absque *sedis apostolicæ* judicio, principes cum pro rege merito refutare possent, cum pactum adimplere contempserit, quod iis pro electione sua promiserat. *Quo non adimpleto, nec rex esse poterat.* Nam rex nullatenus esse potest, qui subditos suos non regere, sed in errorem mittere studuerit . . . si ergo dominus militi debitum reddere contemnit, numquid non libere miles eum pro domino deinceps recusat habere? Liberrime, inquam; nec quilibet hujusmodi militem infidelitatis vel perjurii merito accusabit."—PAUL. BERNRIED., *de Gest. Greg. VII.*, c. 97, ap. GRETSER, pp. 153, 154.

[2] "Fortasse quia christiani estis, sacramenta regi facta violare timetis.

Such was the political creed of the Christians of the middle ages. They thought they had the right to depose an unworthy sovereign and to elect another in his place; but, like the French nobles at the accession of the Carlovingians, they felt the need of having their work ratified and consecrated by the spiritual chief of all Christians. The anathema which had already fallen upon Henry on account of his many offences against the Church, had been one of the principal motives of their insurrection, and must have inclined the Pontiff to their side. They resolved to make common cause with him, and appealed to him as the supreme judge of Christendom.[1] It was, then, the German princes themselves who called upon the Pope to decide the destinies of Germany, and who, according to the expression of a Protestant missionary of our own days, placed the first crown of the world in his hands.[2]

At the same time, they had claimed the right of deposing their sovereign on account of his unworthiness, even before they were authorised or encouraged by the Holy See. In

Optime, sed regi. Dum mihi rex erat et ea quæ regis sunt, faciebat, fidelitatem . . . servavi: postquam vero rex esse desivit, qui fidem servare deberem, non fuit. Igitur non contra regem, sed contra injustum meæ libertatis ereptorem, non contra patriam sed pro *patria* et libertate meæ, quam nemo bonus nisi cum anima amittit . . . capio . . . Igitur expergis. . . ."—BRUNO, *de bello Saxonico*, c. 24, ap. PERTZ, vol. v. p. 337.

[1] This is clearly shown in the following passage from another contemporary author: "Illi etenim propter insolentiam suam et anathema, Henricum regem et dominum abrogaverunt . . . decreverant enim apud se, ut accersito humiliter sancto Papa Gregorio in civitatem Augustam, etiam ipsum in commune totius regni consilium ante *judicem universæ christianitatis* advocarent, desiderantes, ut auctoritate apostolica, aut emendatum eumdem et absolutum recuperarent, aut, ipso juste reprobato, alium in Christum eligerent."—*Vit. S. Anselmi, ep. Lucens*, auct. B. coætaneo, c. 14, ap. GRETSER, vol. vi. p. 472, and *Act. SS. O. B.*, vol. ix.

[2] LUDEN, b. xix. c. 58, vol. ix. p. 102. It is difficult to understand why this author adds that they at the same time renounced their ancient right of election; for every one knows that shortly after, and in spite of the Pope, they elected Rodolph, Duke of Suabia, king. Eichhorn (*deutsche Staats und Rechtsgeschichte*, § 231) says more correctly that it was then only that Germany became in reality an elective kingdom.

1066, when Hildebrand was only archdeacon, and the Church of Rome was taking no part whatever in the affairs of Germany, the Archbishops of Cologne and Mayence, acting with the principal nobles of the empire, assembled a diet at Tribur, and declared to the king that he must choose between his own downfall and the exile of his minister, Adalbert of Bremen.[1] In 1073, at the Conference of Gerstungen, when Gregory VII., then newly elected, was on the best terms with Henry IV., the twenty-four plenipotentiaries chosen from the princes of both parties to examine the grievances of the Saxons, agreed on the following points: First, that the Saxons were to blame only for having too long submitted to an odious tyranny; secondly, that it was necessary to remove a detestable sovereign and to replace him "by another more fit for the office."[2] And, in fact, Rudolph of Suabia would have been immediately chosen king if he had not obstinately refused an election which was not the work of a general assembly convoked for that purpose.[3]

[1] "Non ultra laturi injuriam videbantur principes regni. Archiepiscopi . . . cum ceteris quibus cura erat reipublicæ dum generalis colloquii omnibus indixere regni principibus, in Triburiam convenientes . . . regi denuntiarent, *aut regno ei sedendum esse*, aut familiaritate et amicitia Bremensis archiepiscopi defungendum. . . . Statuta die tristis in regem omnium vultus, tristis erat sententia, *ut aut regno se abdicaret* aut archiep. Bremensem a consiliis suis atque a regni consortio amoveret."—LAMB. SCHAFF., ann. 1066, ap. PERTZ, v. 172. Possessing such authorities, what can we think of the daring falsifications of those who, for two centuries, have repeated—some that the popes invented the right of deposition, and others that the Catholic ages were epochs of political abasement and monarchical despotism? The truth is, that despotism is a modern invention.

[2] "Obstupuerunt principes qui a rege venerant, et suæ immanitate scelerum tinniebant aures omnium, nec eos, quod pro libertate sua, pro liberis, pro conjugibus arma sumpsissent, sed quod intolerabiles contumelias muliebri patientia tam diu supportassent culpandos censebant. Cumque toto triduo consilia contulissent, et quid lucro opus esset communi sollicitudine perquirerent, *hæc postremo cunctis sententia convenit*, ut, *reprobato rege*, alium qui gubernando regno *idoneus esset*."—LAMBERT., ann. 1073, p. 203.

[3] "Rodulfum . . . absque dilatione eligerent, nisi ille pertinaciter resistendo juraret se nunquam in hoc consensurum nisi a cunctis principibus,

Four years later, after the vicissitudes of a sanguinary war, and after the first excommunication had been pronounced against Henry, the German nobles, paying no heed to the absolution which the prince had obtained at Canossa, assembled at the Diet of Forchheim and proclaimed his deposition, appointing, in spite of his protestations, and without allowing him an hour for reflection, the same Rodolph as Henry's successor.[1] Now it is certain that, far from having procured this election, Gregory, on the contrary, though his own legates were present and presided, found fault with it as too precipitate; and that he assented to it only after having vainly tried all means of conciliation towards Henry IV. Nevertheless, during the three years which intervened before the newly-elected king was recognised by the Pope, Rodolph never ceased to be considered as the only legitimate king by all the German Catholics.[2] Moreover, the great assembly in which the election took place, was careful to require from the new king himself an acknowledgment of the *conditional* and purely elective character of his authority. He was obliged, in fact, to pledge himself not only never to interfere with the disposal of ecclesiastical dignities,[3] but also

conventu habito, sine nota perjurii, integra existimatione sua, id facere posse decerneretur."—LAMBERT., ann. 1073, p. 203.

[1] "Frustra renitentem, frustraque vel unius horæ inducias petentem."—PAUL. BERNRIED.

[2] "Hunc igitur Rudolphum tam legitime electum. . . . Electus est autem ab archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, comitibus, majoribus atque minoribus, in conventu apud Ferchheim (15 mart. 1077) . . . cum nullis hujusmodi promotio displicuerit, nisi illis tantum, qui sub legitimo principe, simoniacæ hæresi, aliisque criminibus abrenuntiaturos fore non dubitabant."—PAUL. BERNRIED., *Vit. S. Gregor.*, c. 96.

"Electus dux Rudolphus in regem ad defendendam catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem."—*Vit. S. Anselm. Luc. a discip. ejus*, p. 472, ap. GRETSER. "Hac electione . . . communi totius populi suffragio et laudamento . . . sic peracta."—BERTHOLD., ann. 1077, ap. PERTZ, 293.

[3] "Anteposito sane firmissimo pacto, ne unquam sibi idem Rudolphus in ecclesiasticis dignitatibus ordinandis ullam potestatem vindicaret."—GERHOHI REICHERSPERGENSIS, *de Statu ecclesiæ*, c. 15.

formally to renounce for his son any right whatever to succeed to the throne except by election.[1] Thus, when St. Gregory VII. is represented as the inventor of the principle which authorises the deposition of unworthy sovereigns, numberless facts are disregarded which prove that the theory and practice of this right were anterior to his pontificate, and quite independent of his influence. And those who venture to reproach him with having fomented civil war in Germany by his high-handed decisions and ideas, do so in forgetfulness of the fact that this war was raging before his accession; and that the Saxons[2] and Thuringians, two proud and warlike races, who formed one of the most distinct nationalities of the empire, had, in 1081, under the guidance of their princes and bishops, risen against the intolerable tyranny of Henry IV.,[3] not to force him to submit to the Holy See, but simply to defend and regain their rights, their provincial liberties, and the ancient customs of their country. Those valiant sons of Witikind, whose ancestors Charlemagne had hardly been able to subdue—those intrepid Saxons, each of whom carried three swords to the field of battle (to replace that which might be broken in fight),[4]—had not patiently resigned themselves to

[1] "Qui utique regnum non ut proprium, sed pro dispositione sibi creditum reputans, omne hæreditarium jus in eo repudiavit, et vel filio suo se hoc adoptaturum fore abnegavit; justissime in arbitrio principum esse decernens, ut post mortem ejus libere, non magis filium ejus quam alium eligerent, nisi quem ad id culminis ætate et morum gravitate dignum invenissent."—PAUL. BERNRIED., *loc. cit.*

[2] We must remark that the name of Saxony was not then applied merely to the small present kingdom of that name, but to all Lower Germany, all the vast country watered by the Elbe and Weser, which stretched from the mountains of Bohemia and Thuringia to the North Sea, and which in the old division of the empire formed the circles of Upper and Lower Saxony. This country, in the eleventh century, comprehended the dioceses of Paderborn, Halberstadt, Hildesheim, Werden, Magdeburg, Zeitson, Naumburg, Merseburg, Meissen, Havelburg, and Brandenburg.

[3] BRUNO, *de bell. Saxon.*, ed. PERTZ, p. 335.

[4] LEHMANN, *Speierisch. Chronik.*, p. 384: "Nam ipsi hostes tantos ictus gladiorum se fatebantur nunquam audisse."—*Ann. Saxon.*

endure the excesses and usurpations of Henry.[1] Deceived, insulted, outraged daily in their property, their ancient habits, their personal security; the honour of their wives and daughters abandoned to the mercy of an unbridled soldiery; exasperated, above all, by the perjuries and inexcusable bad faith of their sovereign,[2]—they preferred, says a contemporary monk, to die gloriously for their country and their families, rather than to prolong a life more dreadful than a thousand deaths.[3] In 1073, they sent an embassy to the king, appealing to him, for the last time, to grant them the protection of assured laws; to restore to them the rights enjoyed by their fathers;[4] to destroy the fortresses built on all the mountains of their country in order to keep them under subjection;[5] to give back their confiscated possessions; and finally, to dismiss, together with the wretches who were his ministers, the troop of mistresses whom he audaciously paraded before all eyes.[6] "If you do this," said the confederates, "we will serve you with all our hearts, as we have done up to this time, and as

[1] For details, see BRUNO, *Hist. bell. Saxon.*, ap. FREHER, *Script. rer. Germ.*, vol. i. p. 182.

[2] "Rupto fœdere, contemptis omnibus si quibus se obligaverat jusjurandi vinculis."—LAMB. SCHAFNAB., ann. 1074. This reproach is constantly repeated by all the narrators.

[3] "Satius judicantes pro patria, pro liberis, pro conjugibus honesta morte perfungi, quam inter tantas tribulationes omni morte tristiorem vitam egere."—LAMB., ann. 1076. Compare the expression *pro patria* with the same expressions employed above, and it will be seen what should be thought of the good faith of certain writers of our days, who, understanding no other patriotism than a devotion to the centralisation and despotism of the State, have affirmed that the idea, and even the name, of "country" (*patria*), were unknown in the middle ages.

[4] "Leges redde tuis ablataque patria jura."
—*Carmen de bell. Saxonico*, ap. GOLDAST., p. 21.

[5] "In castella quæ ad eversionem Saxoniæ per singulos montes collesque extruxerat, dirui juberet."—LAMBERT, ann. 1073, ap. PERTZ, v. 196.

[6] "Ut vilissimos homines quorum consilio seque remque publicam præcipitem dedisset, de palatio ejiceret . . . ut abdicato grege concubinarum quibus contra scita canonum attrito frontis rubore incubabat, reginam, . . . conjugali loco haberet."—*Ibid.*

it becomes free men, born in a free country, to serve their king; but if otherwise, we must remember that we are Christians, and will not pollute ourselves by remaining in communion with a man who is a traitor to the Christian faith by his crimes. And if any attempt is made to subdue us by force, we will remember that we have weapons, and can fight."[1]

On Henry's refusal, the indignant Saxons swore to defend to their latest breath their laws, their freedom, and their country;[2] and resumed their arms, undiscouraged by all the vicissitudes of a contest in which they met with more defeats than successes. The peasants, armed with the tools of their agricultural work, their axes and spades, ranged themselves under the banners of the prelates and nobles: and, as we are told by one of Henry's apologists, counts might be seen marching on the enemy, followed by shepherds and ploughmen, who left their villages in crowds; and knights hurrying to the combat side by side with the bakers, butchers, and smiths of Goslar,[3] eager to share in the

[1] "Si ita faceret, se promptissimo animo ei sicut hactenus servituros, eo tamen modo, quo ingenuos homines atque in libero animo natos regi servire oporteret; sin autem, christianos se esse, nec velle hominis qui fidem christianam capitalibus flagitiis prodidisset, communione maculari. Quod si armis cogere instituisset, sibi quoque nec arma deesse, nec militaris rei peritiam."—LAMBERT, ann. 1073, ap. PERTZ, v. 196.

[2] "Singillatim juraverunt. . . . Episcopi ut quantum salvo ordine suo possent, totis viribus ecclesiarum suarum necnon et totius Saxoniæ libertatem contra omnes homines defenderent. Laici vero, ut quamdiu viverent libertatem suam non amitterent, terramque suam nullam deinceps violenter prædari permitterent."—BRUNO, *loc. cit.*, p. 338. "Responderunt . . . sacramento se obstrictos esse, ut, quamdiu sibi vitalis caloris ultima scintilla supervivat, pro libertate, pro legibus, pro patria sua indefessi dimicent."—LAMBERT, ann. 1074, *loc. cit.*, p. 208.

[3] "Goslaria currunt pariter juvenesque senesque,
Sutores, fabri, pistores, carnificesque
Militibus comites ibant in bella ruentes. . . .
Indiscreta ruunt e cunctis agmina villis,
Rusticus abjecto quivis discedit aratro. . . .
Pastores pecorum custodes atque domorum. . . .
Omnis conditio bellum cupit, omnis et ordo,

struggle against the oppressor of Germany, who, followed by Bohemian and other mercenaries, employed hounds to discover the retreats of the insurgents, whom he tracked as if they were wild beasts.[1] The nobles neglected nothing to nourish the sacred fire in the hearts of the people.

"Brave Saxons," they said, "yield not your necks to the yoke of servitude; let not your free fatherland be reduced to the level of a tributary State. Do not despair of God's mercy. We are ready to fight to the death for you and yours. Break the yoke of tyranny, and raise to heaven those heads which, God willing, no tyrant shall ever teach to bow. Pay no unjust tribute, and guard the liberty of that inheritance which your fathers have bequeathed to you."[2]

This warlike league of all classes of a nation against so powerful an enemy, has excited the admiration of many German Protestant writers; in the modern history of their country they have found nothing comparable to the national movement of the eleventh century against imperial tyranny, except the great struggle of which Germany was the theatre

> Maxima pars pedes ivit. . . .
> Tales militibus comites in bella ruebant .
> Omnes agricolæ, fractis agrestibus armis,
> Arma parant belli, durisque ligonibus enses
> Conflant ancipites, curvis e falcibus hastis
> Spicula præfigunt, pars aptat scuta sinistris
> Levia, pars ferro galeas imitatur equestres,
> Pars triplici philtro; fustes ad prælia quernos
> Millia multa parant, plumbo, ferroque gravabant:
> Mille modis acies ad bellum armantur agrestes."

—*Carmen de bello Saxon.*, ap. GOLDAST, *Apologia* pro Henrico IV., pp. 25, 29, 33.

[1] "Vis et odora canum nonnullis commoda rerum
Monstrat, in obscuris penitus defossa cavernis."

—*Ibid.*

[2] "Nolite, optimi Saxones, nolite servitutis juga recipere; nolite hereditatem vestram tributariam facere. . . . Ecce nos . . . pro vobis et vestris pugnaturi quamdiu vivimus. Erigite ergo cervicem, jugo servitutis excusso, liberam; nunquam post hac servitute premendam, adjuvante Deo. Retinete manus a tributis solvendis . . ."—BRUNO, *De bello Sax.*, cc. 84, 85.

when she rose to shake off the odious yoke of Napoleon I.[1] However that may be, those who desire to judge fairly the events of the reign of Henry IV. must collect the details given by the historians of the time, and particularly by the monks Lambert of Aschaffenburg and Bruno of Merseburg. We do not envy the man who can read unmoved the narratives of these chroniclers. Soaring over them with as much grandeur as in the annals of free Greece or of the Roman republic, we see the grandest and most noble things that man can admire and serve, after God—freedom, justice, and the fatherland. From each page of these histories exhales like a perfume the breath of faith, independence, and honour —of true patriotism, of masculine vigour—of heroic devotion which embalms the memory, refreshes the imagination, renews the failing, enervated hearts, and inflames them with an inextinguishable sympathy for the good cause.

Impartial writers will not fail to point attention to the fact, that in plunging into the perils of war the Saxons acted under the influence of profound religious convictions; steadfast Catholics, they blamed Henry above all for his crimes against the law of God and the liberties of the Church. In the middle ages no enterprise whatever could be imagined in which religion did not occupy a foremost place. At the same time, there was during the first years of the struggle no union between the cause of the insurgents and that of the Roman Pontiff. It was only when the belligerents perceived that Gregory's opinion of the chief whose yoke became daily more overwhelming, resembled their own, that they conjured the Pope to help them in their distress.[2] And they must have applied to him with the more confidence, because the Pope was not only for them, as for the rest of the faithful, the supreme protector of the oppressed, but because also, according to ancient national tradition,

[1] VOIGT, *passim*, but particularly ii. 443-449.

[2] "Ut vel per se vel per nuntium genti pene perditæ consolator adesset, suppliciter oraverunt."—BRUNO, ap. FICHER, p. 210.

Charlemagne had placed their liberties under the special care of the See of St. Peter.[1] Thus they had for their watchword and battle-cry during the war the name of the Prince of the Apostles; it was with that name on their lips that they attacked the enemy or fell under the swords of the tyrant's mercenaries.[2]

Before we venture to blame Gregory for opening his heart to the cries of distress which reached him from Saxony; before we accuse him of the crime of having (outside of the ecclesiastical question) supported against Henry's tyranny the nations who implored his assistance,—we must have courage enough to disavow all those sympathies which, ever since history has been written, have excited men to generous indignation, and in place of them must adopt the servile theories of the Lower Empire or of Gallican absolutism. The part which Gregory VII. took in the struggle was characterised by that prudence and moderation which his love of justice always dictated. He had begun by exhorting the insurgent princes and prelates, and also the king, mutually to lay down their arms, on the strength of his engagement to judge their cause without respect of persons, without prejudice[3] or partiality, his conviction being that it was his

[1] "Magnus imperator Saxoniam obtulit B. Petro, cujus eam devicit adjutorio: et posuit signum devotionis et libertatis, sicut ipsi Saxones habent scriptum, et prudentes illorum satis sciunt."—*Epist. Greg.*, viii. 23. This assertion of the Pope is confirmed by the diploma of Charlemagne on the church of Bremen, ann. 788, ap. BALUZ., *Capitul.*, vol. i. p. 245.

[2] ". . . Dicens: Sancte Petre, quod nomen Saxones pro symbolo tenebant omnes in ore."—BRUNO, *De bello Saxon.*, c. 97, ap. PERTZ. Read the history of an encounter between a Saxon and an imperialist The latter gives a great sword-thrust to the Saxon, who had challenged him with the battle-cry (*St. Peter*), saying, ironically, "Hoc tibi tuus Petrus mittit pro munere;" to which the other, splitting open his head, replies, "Et hoc habes ex parte tui Henrici tyranni insanientis."—*Ibid.*

[3] "Neminem vestrum dubitare volumus, quin super hac re veritate discussa, quidquid æquum videbitur, providenti Deo decernere et stabili pactione studeamus efficere: et quamcumque partem injurias et conculcatæ justitiæ violentiam pati cognoverimus, illi procul dubio omni timore

mission to defend the rights of each, and to maintain peace among all.[1] When, however, deaf to his voice, the two parties decided on leaving the question to the arbitration of battle, Gregory again interposed in the following year, and in the exercise of the same right by which he had summoned Henry to spare the Saxons when at first defeated,[2] enjoined upon the latter the duty of respecting, in his abasement and defeat, their humbled oppressor;[3] for, remembering the inveterate persistence of prejudice and falsehood, it is well to insist on the fact, that no trait in the character of Gregory was more marked than those of gentleness and moderation.[4] This is fully proved by the testimony of all authors worthy of belief, as well as by the conscientious study of the Pontiff's own writings and acts.[5] Inflexible in those resolutions which duty dictated, he avoided with scrupulous care even the least appearance of precipitation or violence in the execution of his projects;[6] the most sincere humanity and the most patient forbearance were allied in his heart to an indomitable

et respectu personalis gratiæ posthabito, favorem et apostolicæ auctoritatis præsidia conferemus."—*Epist.*, i. 39, ad Wecelin. archiep., &c.

[1] "Officii nostri est omnibus sua jura defendere ac inter eos componere pacem."—*Epist.*, ii. 70, ad G. . . . Hungariæ ducem.

[2] *Epist.*, iii. 7.

[3] *Epist.*, iv. 12 and 24, ad Germanos.

[4] "Papa mitissimus," says Hugo de Flavigny, speaking of Gregory VII. (p. 230), and the gentle and wise Mabillon holds the same opinion: "Ad commiserationem et indulgentiam propensior erat: quod forte non facile sibi persuadere plerique patientur, quos ejus facta in Henricum IV. in contrariam abduxere sententiam. At quisquis ejus epistolas et acta illius temporis attente perlegerit, haud ægre id quod dico intelliget."—*Annal. Bened.*, vol. v. b. 65, No. 55. In support of Mabillon's judgment we may quote the following epistles: i. 10; iii. 10; iv. 3, 12; v. 13, 17; vi. 4; ix. 3, 5.

[5] Mabillon's opinion of Gregory's mildness is that of most of the impartial medieval writers, and of the serious historians of modern times. Pope Nicholas, whose first minister Hildebrand was, described him thus in his official diplomas, "Humilis Hildebrandus."—MANSI, *Conc.*, xix.

[6] "Quam vero non præceps, aut levis, imo vero modestus in danda in eum excommunicationis sententia," &c.—GERHOH. REICHERSPERG., *De statu Ecclesiæ*, c. 13.

courage.[1] He himself practised the precepts which he gave to the Bishop of Prague in reproving him for having abused the right of excommunication. "Nothing," he wrote, "is more dangerous than to excommunicate a man who is not canonically guilty, and who has not been regularly sentenced; for, as St. Gregory the Great has said, 'he who binds the innocent, degrades with his own hands his power of binding and of loosing.' Therefore we admonish thee never to brandish the sword of anathema rashly or without deliberation, but, on the contrary, to examine the cause of every accused person with scrupulous care."[2]

Far from himself abusing the power of excommunication, as he has often been accused of doing, he took pains to soften, as much as possible, the terrible consequences of this penalty, by authorising the wives, children, and servants of excommunicated persons, and all who could help them, to hold communication with them.[3] In the same spirit he enjoined Hugh, Bishop of Die, his principal legate in France, to endeavour to win back William the Conqueror to God and St. Peter by gentleness and persuasion rather than by the sternness of justice.[4] The same spirit appears in his recommendation to the monks of Monte Cassino not to forget,

[1] "Quia vero subjectorum offendicula aliquoties prudenter dissimulanda, aliquoties autem . . . toleranda sunt. . . . Dominus Apostolicus prudens dissimulator et tolerator, multorum episcoporum et presbyterorum. . . Hæreticas pravitates . . . *in tempus opportunum* dijudicanda multum sollicitus distulerat."—BERTHOLD., ann. 1078, ap. PERTZ, v. 309.

[2] ". . . Cum tuos absque canonica culpa et legali judicio excommunicas, quod tibi maxime periculosum est, quoniam, sicut B. Gregorius dicit, qui insontes ligat, sibi ipsi potestatem ligandi atque solvendi corrumpit. Unde te admonemus, ut anathematis gladium nunquam subito neque temere in aliquem vibrare præsumas, sed culpam uniuscujusque diligenti prius examinatione discutias."—*Ep.*, ii. 6, ann. 1074.

[3] "Si quis excommunicatus non pro sustentatione superbiæ, sed humanitatis causa aliquid dare voluerit, fieri non prohibemus."—COLETTI, *Conc.*, vol. xii. p. 616; *Annal. Saxon.*, ann. 1078.

[4] "Videtur enim nobis multo melius atque facilius lenitatis dulcedine ac rationis ostensione quam austeritate vel rigore justitiæ illum Deo lucrari, et ad perpetuum B. Petri amorem posse provocari."—*Ep.*, ix. 8.

in their daily prayers for the Church and her Head, to intercede for the enemies of the Church, and, above all, for Prince Giordano of Capua, who had profaned and despoiled their sanctuary: "that God might give the spoiler a penitent heart, and that he might be converted and obtain mercy in this world, and in the next eternal life."[1]

Thus, in his repressive measures against the Emperor Henry and the schismatics, the Pontiff moves only by slow degrees, never yielding to provocation or to the empire of circumstances. In the early part of his pontificate there were men zealous for good who reproached him with too great mildness.[2] And in fact, at the time of his election, he at once indicated the possible conditions of union between the future emperor and himself,[3] acknowledging the full importance of harmonious action between the priesthood and the empire,[4] while declaring that he would resist even to blood, rather than risk the destruction of both by consent-

[1] ". . . Volumus atque rogamus caritatem vestram, ut nostri memores, pro nobis preces fundatis ad Dominum, pro statu quoque sancti Romanæ Ecclesiæ Rectori rerum quotidie suplicetis, necnon tam pro amicis, quam etiam pro inimicis dilectionis affectu omnipotentem Dominum deprecari sedulo memineritis, et studetis, necnon et pro illo, qui tam sanctissimum locum toto mundo famoso violavit, preces effundite, ut Deus det illi cor pœnitens, et sic eum ad se convertat, ut in hac vita et futura mereatur gratiam Dei obtinere."—Letter unprinted till recently, and published by TOSTI, *Storia del monte Cassino*, vol. i. p. 428. We may quote also, in proof of Gregory's charitable disposition, the account given by Hugh de Flavigny of the compassion shown by the Pope to a monk of Jarenton, assassinated on the journey from Rome to Salerno in 1084. This monk had always been remarkable for his opposition to the pontifical cause; but when Gregory saw the bleeding corpse of the victim, and the grief of his abbot, he took off his own cope to lay over the body, and himself sung the mass for the dead.—HUG. FLAVIN., 230.

[2] "Alii nimium mites esse dicunt."—*Ep.*, ii. 77.

[3] See *Ep.*, i. 9, addressed to Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, Henry's partisan and friend.

[4] "Sicut duobus oculis humanum corpus temporali lumine regitur, ita his duabus dignitatibus in pura religione concordantibus corpus Ecclesiæ spirituali lumine regi et illuminari probatur."—*Ep.*, i. 19, to Rodolph, Duke of Suabia.

ing to iniquity.[1] At the same time, he wrote to Henry in the most affectionate terms, congratulating him on his first efforts against simony: "If God permitted me to show you my soul," he said, "you would certainly see with what sincere affection I am devoted to you. . . . Nor is it only to you, whom God has placed at the summit of all greatness, and who can do so much for the salvation or perdition of souls, but also to the lowest of Christians, that I owe, and that I will give, with God's help, the evidences of a holy love. . . . And as perhaps no mortal could succeed in making you believe completely in the sincerity of this love, I trust to the Holy Spirit, who can do all things, to prove to you, in His own way, the good which I wish you, and how much I love you; I ask Him also to turn your heart so to mine that the wicked may be confounded and the good encouraged. For the eyes of both good men and bad are constantly on the watch about us, contending who shall have us on his side."[2]

Henry, on the other hand, recognised without difficulty the election of Gregory VII., and wrote to him with every evidence of an obedience and devotion to which the papacy had for a long time been little accustomed.[3]

At a later period, when the princes assembled at Gerstun-

[1] "Tutius nobis est defendendo veritatem pro sui ipsius salute adjusque sanguinem nostrum sibi resistere, quam ad explendam ejus voluntatem iniquitati consentiendo secum, quod absit, ad interitum ruere."—*Ep.*, i. 11, to the Countesses Beatrix and Matilda.

[2] "Si Deus modo aliquo suæ pietatis concederet ut mens mea tibi haberet. . . . Spiritui sancto qui omnia potest committo ut menti tuæ suo more indicet quid tibi cupiam, &c. . . . Hæc enim duo desideria circa nos duos, licet diverso modo, incessanter invigilant, et secundum voluntatem eorum a quo prodeunt, decertant."—*Ep.*, ii. 31, December 1074.

[3] "Dulcedinis et obedientiæ plena nobis verba misisse, et talia qualia neque ipsum neque antecessores suos recordamur Romanis Pontificibus misisse."—*Ep.*, i. 25, ad Herlembaldum, Sept. 1073. This no doubt refers to the very humble letter from Henry found between the 29th and 30th in book i. of the *Ep. of Greg. VII.*, and quoted by Hug. Flavin., p. 209.—Natalis Alexander, Dissert ii. It is only in a letter to Matilda, written September 1075 (iii. 5), that the Pope begins to express some suspicions as to the king's duplicity.

gen had taken the resolution of dethroning the oppressor of the Saxons and electing another king, Gregory interposed, making every endeavour to pacify them, and to persuade them to give up all violent action.[1] Henry fully felt the value of this mediation, and showed his desire to render himself worthy of it by seeking absolution humbly at Nuremberg from the papal legates for all his simoniacal acts, and pledging himself in their presence to leave the Church henceforward at full liberty.[2] Very soon, however, intoxicated by his first victories over the Saxons, the prince forgot his promises and his duties: by continuing his connection with his excommunicated advisers, he exposed himself, according to common law, to the same penalty; and by conferring the most important sees of Germany and Italy[3] on simoniacal and unworthy priests, he trampled under foot the pontifical decrees. Gregory employed all means to recall the prince to a better way; now by conciliatory and paternal letters—now by envoys charged to remonstrate with him in secret[4]—and finally, by the threat of excommunication. As a last effort of paternal indulgence, the Pope even offered to modify the decree just pronounced against investitures, if the imperial envoys could assure him that this modification would leave intact the honour of God and the salvation of souls.[5]

Finally, before taking action against the king with that rigour which was justified by the law of the Church, and

[1] Letter of December 20, 1073.—*Ep.*, i. 29.

[2] "Promisit in manibus eorum. . . . Dei Ecclesiam, secundum canonicam institutionem per consilium Papæ ordinandam componendamque dimittere."—PAUL BERNRIED. Cf. LAMBERT, ann. 1074; DOMNIZO, &c.

[3] Among others, Bamberg, which he gave to his odious favourite the monk Robert, called the Treasurer; also Milan, Fermo, and Spoleto, at the very gates of Rome.

[4] *Epist. I. Greg.*, ad regiones Theutonicas, ap. BRUNO, c. 72; PERTZ, v. 355.

[5] "Qui si aliqua ratione demonstrare vel adstruere possent, in quo salvo æterni regis honore et animarum nostrarum promulgatam sanctorum patrum possemus temperare sententiam, eorum consiliis condescenderemus."—*Ep.*, iii. 10, of 8th Jan. 1076.

called for by the complaints of the oppressed Saxons, Gregory cited Henry, as Alexander II. had already done, to appear at Rome to defend himself. Henry, misled by a fatal pride,[1] and feeling himself sure of the majority of an episcopate corrupted by simony,[2] replied to this summons by a crime unheard of in the records of Christendom,—by deposing, in a council of twenty-six bishops, the Pope, the father and judge of all Christendom, against whom not a shadow of canonical reproach existed. The deposition of Henry IV. by Gregory has been the subject of unceasing discussion; but few remember that Henry himself began by deposing Gregory in the Assembly at Worms[3]—a ludicrous sentence, equally without pretext and without antecedent,[4] which was notified to him in language which no one had ever before addressed to the Vicar of Christ.[5] Here are some fragments of this strange document:—

"To Hildebrand, no longer a Pope, but a false monk—I, Henry, king by the merciful ordination of God, deprive thee of the right of being Pope which thou seemest to possess, and command thee to descend from the See of that city, the pontificate of which belongs to me by the grace of God and the oath of the Romans, for thou art condemned by the

[1] "Indigne ferens se a quoquam reprehendi aut corripi."—*Ep. Greg.*, ad Theut., ap. BRUNO, c. 72; HUG. FLAV., p. 213.

[2] "Non prius destitit donec omnes pene Episcopos Italiæ et Theutonicarum partium, quodquod potuit circa Christi fidem naufragare fecit." —HUG. FLAV., p. 213.

[3] January 24, 1076. Gregory's sentence against Henry was only given February 22, after the news of what had passed at Worms was received.

[4] At the Council of Sutri, Gregory VI., the only legitimate Pope, had abdicated voluntarily when he saw that he was suspected, though wrongly, of simony.—BONIZO, *Liber ad amicum*, ap. ŒFELE, ii. p. 801.

[5] "Henricus. . . . Hildebrando jam non Apostolico sed *falso* monacho . . . tu ergo hoc anathemate et omnium episcoporum nostrorum judicio et nostro, descende, tibi dicimus: descende, descende."—Ap. BRUNO, *de bello Saxon.*, cc. 66, 67. Another version is thus expressed: "Hildebrando, pseudomonacho . . . descende, descende, per sæcula, damnande."—Cf. ST. GEBHARD, Archb. Salisb., epist. ad Herim., ap. GRETSER, vi. 445; HUG. FLAVIN., p. 213.

anathema and judgment of all our bishops, and by ours; come down, therefore, and abandon the Apostolic See, which we take from thee. Let another ascend the throne of Peter, and teach true doctrine. I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all our bishops—I say to thee, Come down! come down!"

It was only in answer to this odious and unheard-of act that Gregory, yielding to the unanimous exhortations of a hundred and ten bishops assembled in council at Rome,[1] and in presence of the Empress Agnes, Henry's own mother, gave the first sentence of excommunication against the emperor, freed his subjects from their oaths of fidelity, and took from him the government of Germany and Italy.[2] Even this sentence was only to be definitive if the prince should refuse to seek absolution before the expiration of the year. When the German princes assembled at Tribur to proceed on their side to the deposition of Henry, Gregory again interceded with them to calm their exasperation against the tyrant, whose heart he hoped might be touched by repentance. "As it is neither pride nor greed," he wrote to them, "which has moved us against Henry IV., but zeal for the discipline of the Church, we implore you in our Lord Jesus, and as our beloved brethren, to receive him with kindness if, with all his heart, he turn from his evil ways. Display towards him, not only that justice which might cut short his reign, but also that mercy which covers many sins. Remember the

[1] "Dixit synodus tibi sancta:
Tu pater es patrum: blasphemum contere pravum
Est nostrum quippe jussis parere tuisque,
Pro Christo mortem patienter gliscimus omnes.
Judicium confer, gladium trahe, percute fortem;
Omnibus excelso dignum clamantibus esse
Privari regno Regem."

—DOMNIZO, *Vit. Mathild.*, ap. LABBE, ann. 1076.

[2] "Henrico Regi, qui contra tuam Ecclesiam inaudita superbia insurrexit, totius regni Teutonicorum et Italiæ gubernacula contradico et omnes christianos a vinculo juramenti quod sibi fecerint vel facient, absolvo, et ut nullus ei sicut regi serviat, interdico."—COLETTI, *Concil.*, xii.

frailty of man which is common to us all; do not forget the noble and pious memory of his father and mother; pour the oil of pity on his wounds."[1]

Elsewhere, giving an account of his conduct to the princes and people of Germany, he says: "If the king would accept our decrees, and reform his life, we take God to witness the joy which his salvation and his glory would inspire in us, and the goodwill with which we should open to him the doors of Holy Church as to one who, appointed prince of the people and master of the fairest of kingdoms, ought to be the defender of justice and of the peace of Catholics. . . . If, by the inspiration of God, he will repent, whatever may have been his attempts against us, he shall find us always ready to receive him into the holy communion."[2]

After the absolution of Canossa, Gregory adopted the line of conduct best fitted to recall Henry permanently to the path of order and justice. While he acknowledged the insurgent nations as sharers in his perils, and allies in the struggle of right against wrong, he did not approve the precipitate election of Rodolph of Suabia to the throne of which Henry IV. had been declared by the princes to be unworthy; and although, at the Diet of Forchheim, where the election was made, the independence of the Church and the freedom of episcopal elections had been formally granted, he preserved for three years a strict neutrality between the

[1] Ep. iv. 3. "Coepiscopis, ducibus, comitibus, universis quoque fidem christianam defendentibus in regno Teutonico habitantibus."—Lüden argues, with good reason, that this letter must have been considered by the princes as a direct interposition in favour of the king, whom they had in their power, and to whom it did the greatest service.—*History of the German People*, ix. 95.

[2] "Deum testem invocavimus et invocamus, quantum nos de ejus salute et honore gauderemus, et cum quanta caritate eum in gremium S. Ecclesiæ amplecteremur . . . qui si Deo imperante voluerit resipiscere, quidquid contra nos moliatur, semper tamen nos ad recipiendum . . . paratos inveniet." This fine letter, given by Paul Bernried, c. 78, and by Bruno, c. 72, is wanting in the *Regestum* of the Epistles of Gregory VII. in the collection of the Councils.

two kings.[1] "We have not pledged ourselves," he wrote to the Germans, "either to one or other of the kings, to lend them an unjust support; for we would rather die, if need were, than suffer ourselves to be drawn by our own inclination to do what would trouble the Church of God. We are well aware that we are ordained and placed in the Apostolic See, not to seek there our own profit, but that of Jesus Christ, and to pursue our way through a thousand labours, following the footsteps of our fathers, to the eternal rest of the future."

This extreme moderation offended the Saxons and all those who had shaken off Henry's yoke. Not understanding the motives which led the Pope to hope, in spite of all, that Henry's conduct would be affected by the absolution of Canossa, they suspected the Pontiff of a base connivance with their tyrant, and wrote to him the most indignant appeals, complaining that he had abandoned them, and was temporising with the common enemy at the price of their blood, and imploring him, in the name of Christ, to recall his courage, and to strike the wolves which devoured the flock of believers. Exasperated by the Pope's delays, and having recalled to him in the most urgent terms both the trials which they had endured in consequence of their obedience to the first apostolic sentence, and the deplorable effects of the uncertainty in which he was leaving Germany as to the legitimacy of the two kings, they addressed to Gregory a last letter in the following words: "If all that we have suffered for you does not move you to concern yourself for our liberation; if we are not worthy in your eyes of any favour,—at least do us that justice which you ought not to refuse even to enemies. You would bind us to neutrality; why do you not impose it also on those who have disobeyed all your decrees, who communicate with those whom you have excommunicated, who, with all their might, serve him whom you have deposed, and furnish him with

[1] GREG., *Epist.*, iv. 24.

the forces which he uses to oppress us? All the evils we suffer come from those whom you are able and bound to control. Why, then, does your much-boasted courage, which, according to the words of the apostle, should be always ready to chastise all disobedience, fail now to administer chastisement? If we, poor sheep, commit any fault, the apostolic severity is instantly displayed against us; but when it is the wolves who tear to pieces the flock of God, then we hear of nothing but patience, forbearance, and resignation to endure evil in a spirit of meekness. Now we implore you, in the name of the Lord Jesus, whether it be that the fear of this sinner, whose glory is only of the earth, has paralysed you—or whether it be that the caresses and fine words of those about you have seduced you,—return to yourself, take courage, think of the honour and the fear of God; and if you will not save us for our sakes, save your own credit at least; for if you permit sinners to rage against us much longer, it may be feared that before the great Judge our ruin will leave you without plea or excuse."[1]

Thus spoke the Saxon Catholics to the *fiery* Gregory VII.; and after a rapid review of the position, we should be almost tempted to join in their reproaches, if this long-suffering, this forbearance on the part of the glorious Pontiff, did not seem to have been permitted by God in order to confound the bad faith of his future calumniators.

As for Gregory, nothing shook the calm and moderation

[1] "Si . . . nihil a vobis gratiæ meruimus, quare saltem justitia, quæ nec inimicis deneganda est, nobis denegatur? . . . Igitur vestra illa famosa strenuitas, quæ juxta Apostolum semper in promptu habuit ulcisci omnem inobedientiam, quare istam non ulciscitur? . . . Si quando miseræ nos oves in aliquo excessimus, confestim sine mora in nos Apostolicæ auctoritatis vindicta processit. Nunc autem cum ad lupos perventum est, qui apertis morsibus, &c. . . . Rogamus ergo vos, ut sive vos terror viri peccatoris . . . exorbitare fecit, sive familiarium personarum mollita persuasio delinivit, ut redeatis ad cor, ut memor sitis honestatis et timoris Domini, et si non nobis propter nos parcitis, saltem vestræ innocentiæ in tanti sanguinis effusione provideatis."—BRUNO, c. 115.

of his soul; to the remonstrances and injurious suspicions of the partisans of the Church of Germany, he replied: "Do not doubt me, my dearest brothers; do not think that I shall ever, knowingly, favour the party which is in the wrong; I would rather die for your salvation than gain all the glory of the world by your destruction. If, by false letters or false reports, you are told the contrary, do not believe it. I fear God, and every day I suffer for love of Him; but I have little fear of the pride or seductions of the world, awaiting with certainty the consolations of that God whose mercy exceeds our hopes and our merits."[1] And in another place: "I hear that some of you distrust me, and accuse me of worldly inconstancy in the midst of my dangers. . . . The Italians,[2] on the other hand, reproach me with too great sternness towards Henry. For me, my conscience tells me that I have always acted towards the one party and towards the other according to justice and equity. Be certain that, through the guidance of God, no man, either by love or fear, or any other human passion, has ever been able, or will ever be able, to turn me from the straight path of justice."[3]

But when the time for patience was over, the measure of Henry's crimes full, and his bad faith indisputably proved; when it was seen that the king had swept away—to use the words of a contemporary—like spiders' webs all the conditions which the forbearance of the Pontiff had imposed upon him at Canossa,[4]—with what vigour and majesty did Gregory, launching against Henry his second and final

[1] "De me nullo modo dubitetis . . . omnipotens et misericors Deus qui ultra spem, ultra meritum miseretur."—*Epist.* vi. 1, ad Germanos.

[2] "Quotquot Latini sunt."—*Epist.* vii. 3, ad Germanos. In the text of this letter given by Hugh of Flavigny, it is *Quotquot laici sunt.*

[3] "Sciatis indubitanter quoniam, Deo gubernante, nemo hominum, sive amore, sive timore, aut per aliquam cupiditatem, potuit me unquam, aut amodo poterit seducere a recta semita justitiæ."—*Ibid.*

[4] "Conditiones omnes et universa Ecclesiasticarum legum vincula quibus ille cum apostolica auctoritate in salutem obstrinxerat, contemptim tanquam aranearum telas dirupit."—LAMBERT, SCHAFN., ann. 107.

sentence, proclaim Rodolph as king![1] Let us recall here, that all lovers of courage and justice may profit by them, the Pontiff's immortal words: "Blessed Peter, prince of the apostles, and thou, Paul, teacher of nations, deign, I implore you, to bend your ears to me, and hear me in your clemency; you who are the disciples and lovers of the truth, help me to make known this truth, and to dissipate that error which you hate, so that my brethren may understand me better, and may know that it is owing to your support, after that of the Lord and of His mother Mary, always a virgin, that I resist the wicked, and am able to bring you * help in all your calamities."[2] Then, after having given an account of his whole life, his struggles, the first repentance of Henry, followed by new crimes, he ends thus: "For these reasons, trusting in the justice and mercy of God, and of His most pious mother Mary, always a virgin, and armed with your authority, I excommunicate the before-named Henry, called king; I bind him with the bonds of anathema; in the name of Almighty God, and in your names, I deprive him once more of the kingdoms of Germany and Italy; I take from him all power and all royal dignity, I forbid all Christians to obey him as king, and I release from their oath all who have sworn, or who shall in future swear, fidelity to him as his subjects.[3] . . . Act, therefore, I conjure you, most holy fathers and princes, in such a manner that the world may understand and know that, as you can bind and loose in heaven, you can also on

[1] At Council of Rome, March 7, 1080.

* "Vous prêter secours en vos calamités." This is possibly a misprint. Perhaps the passage should read, "bring *them* help in *their* calamities."—*Translator.*

[2] "Beate Petre, princeps Apostolorum, et tu, Paule, doctor gentium, dignamini, quæso, &c. . . . quia veritatis estis discipuli et amatores, adjuvare ut veritatem vobis dicam. . . ."—*Conc. Roman.*, ann. 1080, ap. LABBE, *Conc.*, vol. xii. p. 637, ed. COLETTI.

[3] "Iterum regnum Teutonicorum, et Italiæ ex parte omnipotentis Dei et vestra interdicens ei, omnem potestatem et dignitatem illi regiam tollo. . . ."—*Concil. Rom.*, ann. 1080, ap. LABBE.

earth give and take away, according to our deserts, empires, kingdoms, duchies, marquisates, counties, and all human possessions. You have often taken patriarchates, primacies, archbishoprics, and bishoprics from the unworthy to give them to religious men; and if you thus weigh spiritual things, what must be your power in secular ones! If the angels, placed higher than the proudest princes, are to be judged by you, how will it be with those who are only their slaves? Let, then, the kings and all the princes of this age learn what you are, and how great is your power, and let them fear to despise the commands of your Church; exercise your justice against King Henry so promptly that all may see that his fall comes not by chance, but by your power. . . . And may it please God that his confusion lead him to penitence, so that his soul may be saved in the day of the Lord!"[1]

No human consideration dictated to Gregory this final judgment; for the affairs of his partisans in Germany were then in an almost desperate condition;[2] and soon afterwards Rodolph, that king of blessed memory,[3] died, like another Maccabeus,[4] in the arms of victory, saying,[5] "Living or dying, I accept gladly what God wills."[6]

[1] "Agite nunc, quæso, patres et principes sanctissimi, ut omnis mundus intelligat et cognoscat quia, &c. . . . Addiscant nunc reges et omnes sæculi principes, quanti vos estis, quid potestis, et timeant parvipendere jussionem Ecclesiæ vestræ. . . . Confundatur utinam ad pœnitentiam, ut spiritus sit salvus in die Domini!"—*Concil. Rom.*, ann. 1080, ap. LABBE.

[2] This is acknowledged by STENTZEL, Henry's ardent apologist, vol. i. p. 459.

[3] "Beatæ memoriæ regis."—GREG., *Epist.* ix. 3.

[4] "Pater patriæ, servantissimus justitiæ, indefessus propugnator sanctæ Ecclesiæ . . . in servitio B. Petri occumbere promeruit."—BERNOLD. CONSTANT., ad ann. 1080. Voigt compares his death to that of Epaminondas at Mantinea, p. 567.

[5] October 15th, on the banks of the Elster.

[6] "Nunc lætus patior sive vivens, sive moriens, quidquid voluerit Deus."—*Ann. Sax.*, ap. ECCARD, i. 557. He had had his right hand cut off in the battle. The princes of his party were so touched by his courage, and the care he took of the wounded while paying no attention to his

After this catastrophe events followed each other fast. Guibert, Archbishop of Ravenna, was elected Pope by the imperialist prelates of Germany and Lombardy. Henry IV., victorious, then passed into Italy, where the Countess Matilda alone dared to resist him. Gregory was three times besieged in Rome, shut up in the Castle of St. Angelo, betrayed by the cowardice and avarice of the Romans;[1] his annual councils were deserted by most of the bishops; and the anti-Pope and Henry crowned each other in St. Peter's. But it was when Gregory had reached the depths of adversity, in the midst of this desertion and danger, that the nobleness and purity of his soul assumed a character still more sublime; it was then that he appeared even greater than when, at Canossa, the son of emperors was seen kneeling humbly at his feet. In vain Henry, victor and master of Rome, offered peace to the Pontiff on the sole condition of being crowned by him; Gregory, without soldiers, without treasure, reduced to the Castle of St. Angelo as his last refuge, demanded in his turn from the king, as an imperative condition, that repentance which the pride of the schismatics refused.[2] Not a shadow of fear or of regret now

own wound, that they swore to him that if God would spare his life, they would never take any other king, even though he should lose both his hands. The imperialist version relates the facts differently; it says that Rodolph, after the loss of his hand, expressed himself thus: "Juravi domino meo Henrico non nocere, sed jussio Apostolici petitioque principum me fecit juramenti transgressorem."—*Chron. Ursperg.*, ann. 1080. Cf. HELMOLD., *Hist. Slav.*, i. 29. But the *Chron. Magdeb.*, ap. MEIBOM., *Script.*, vol. ii. p. 316, denies absolutely the authenticity of this story, and says: "Tantum abesse pœnitentia ductum fuisse Rudolphum, ut potius id unice doluerit, sibi ereptam occasionem vindicandi injurias tam Ecclesiæ illatas, quam imperii ordinibus," &c. In any case the hero could not have invoked the *jussio apostolica*, since he had been proclaimed king three years before he was recognised as such by Gregory.

[1] BONIZO, p. 812, furnishes the most interesting information as to the numerous abuses then prevailing in the administration of St. Peter, the suppression of which by Gregory VII. had made all those who profited by them devoted partisans of the anti-Pope Guibert.

[2] STENTZEL, vol. i. pp. 483, 484. He sees in this heroic constancy nothing but stupid obstinacy.

interferes to obscure the brightness of that noble mind; we find no longer any trace of that hesitation or want of decision for which he had been so much blamed, and which had been inspired by generosity, at a time when his enemy was subdued and despoiled! From the moment when that enemy triumphed, a calm and indomitable firmness animated all the Pontiff's words and actions; in the midst of a prolonged and terrible crisis he continued, as before, his correspondence with the princes and bishops of all Christian countries; he watched over all the interests of the universal Church, and only spoke of himself to promise the faithful that he would not betray their cause or that of Christ.[1] "We know," he wrote, "that our brethren are wearied by the length of the struggle; but there is nothing nobler than to fight long for the liberty of Holy Church. Let others submit to a miserable and diabolical serfdom, let others seek to subject the unfortunate to the rule of the demon; Christians are called upon to deliver from this rule the unfortunates who are placed under it."[2] And in another place: "Up to this time few of us have resisted the wicked to the shedding of blood, and very few have died for Christ. Think, my beloved, think how many every day expose their lives for profane masters for the sake of vile wages. But we, what sufferings do we encounter, what work are we doing for the Supreme King, who promises us eternal glory? What shame and what mockery would be yours, if, while these men face death for a miserable reward,[3] you are seen flying from that persecution which would purchase for you the treasure of celestial blessedness! . . . Keep, then, your eyes always fixed upon the banner of

[1] See all Book ix. of Gregory's Epistles, especially Epistles ii., iii., xi., and xxi.

[2] "Certant namque miseri scilicet membra diaboli, ut ejusdem misera servitute opprimantur. Certant contra membra Christi, ut eosdem miseros, ad Christianam libertatem reducant."—*Ep.* ix. 3, to the Bishop of Passau and Abbot of Hirschau

[3] "Pro vili alga."

your leader, who is the eternal King; and to overcome the old enemy, learn not only how to brave persecution and death, but even to seek them for the love of God and the defence of your religion."[1]

Never losing sight of the purely spiritual character of the contest which exposed him to such dangers, and regarding the winning of souls as the highest victory, Gregory at once exhorted the faithful to immovable firmness in resistance, and recommended to them an active care for the salvation of their adversaries. "We all wish with one accord," he said, "that God may be glorified in us, and that He may deign to admit us, with our brethren, even with those who persecute us, to eternal life.[2] . . . Multiply, therefore, your alms and your prayers; and seek by all possible means to prevail with your Redeemer that your enemies, whom, by His precept, you are bound to love, may return to the standard of Holy Church, that bride for whom He deigned to die; for again I say it, we seek the destruction of no man, but the salvation of all in Christ."[3]

Memorable and blessed words, truly worthy of the pen of a Pope and the heart of a saint, and which fill up the measure of that ineffable joy which rushes over every Catholic soul at the sight of courage so heroic crowned by charity so invincible!

[1] "Pensate, carissimi, pensate quot quotidie milites sæculares pro dominis suis vili mercede inducti morti se tradunt. Et nos quid pro summo Rege et sempiterna gloria patimur aut agimus, quale dedecus, &c. . . . Studeamus persecutiones ab eo immissas, et mortem pro justitia non solum vos devitare, sed etiam pro amore Dei et Christianæ religionis defensione appetere."—*Ep.* ix. 21.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] "Jam dandæ sunt frequentissimæ orationes et largissimæ dandæ eleemosynæ . . . ad gremium sanctæ Ecclesiæ redeant, suæque sponsæ pro qua mori dignatus est. . . . Nullius enim hominis perditionem quærimus, sed omnium salutem in Christo desideramus."—*Ep.* ix. 3.

APPENDIX

THE ROLLS OF THE DEAD

(Page 92)

Extract from CH. LENORMAND, *Report to the Academy of Inscriptions, August* 17, 1849 (*Moniteur* of March 17, 1850).

M. Leopold Delisle sent a memoir, *On paleographic remains concerning the custom of praying for the dead*, inserted in the *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*. He has judged in a new manner, *even after the Benedictines*, these rolls, or rather . . . these *volumes*, which in the fervour of medieval institutions, the religious communities transmitted to each other. Let us imagine the pious exercises of a monastery momentarily interrupted: a messenger is come; whence? and what does he bring? He is an envoy from Cluny or Marmoutier; at the top of the roll which he carries is the name of the famous monk or illustrious benefactor whom the community has recently inscribed on its diptychs, and in whose favour she begs the brotherly aid of prayers. The roll, in spite of its enormous length of fifty or sixty feet, is already almost full, for the messenger has visited more than 200 churches, and everywhere the learned and skilful of the place have responded to the request by writing on the roll either verses in honour of the dead, or a petition for reciprocal prayers for those of their own brethren whose death they have to make known. So good an example must be followed; hence new recommendations, and especially new verses, sometimes even the attempts of scholars, *versus pueriles*, given up to that indulgent publicity which takes account of good intentions and of the promise of the future, but among which may be discovered, by an eye as sagacious as that of M. Delisle, precious gems; for instance,

a piece of fourteen Latin verses, written by Heloise at the monastery of Argenteuil, in honour of the B. Vital of Savigny, whose funeral roll now figures among the most remarkable monuments of our national archives.

"*Being gentlemen, they could not sign their names.*"

(Pages 125 to 142.)

Certain writers of the last century, and of the present one, have desired to make their readers believe (and their object may easily be guessed) that the medieval monks only instructed in their abbeys children destined to the religious life, and that the noble classes were proud of remaining without any literary culture. His Eminence Cardinal Pitra, in his excellent *History of St. Leger*, has proved the falsity of this view. He there makes it evident—1. That under the Frankish King Clotaire II., St. Chlodulphe, who afterwards became Bishop of Metz, had been brought up with St. Leger at the school for the great vassals, and, "as belonged to his rank, and *according to the custom of the sons of nobles*, he is sent to school and instructed in liberal studies, *ut par erat et ut* NOBILIUM FILIIS FIERI SOLET, *scholis traditur et* LIBERALIBUS LITTERIS *docendus exhibetur.*"—(*Vit. S. Leodeg.*, c. 3, *Act. SS. O. B.*) 2. That St. Landebert, from his infancy, *a prima fere ætate*, had been under the care of learned men and historians *ad viros sapientes et storicos.*—(*Vit. S. Landb.*, c. 2, *ibid.*, sect. ii.). 3. That St. Wandrille (*Vit.*, c. 2, *ibid.*), in the character of a noble, had received the noble education—that in which military history and ancient literature were taught, and which was imbued with Christian principles, as well as with those of profane learning, *militaribus gestis de antiquis disciplinis*, QUIPPE UT NOBILISSIMUS, *nobiliter educatus, et crescentibus sanctæ vitæ moribus cunctisque mundanarum rerum disciplinis imbutus, &c.*

These facts, moreover, are proved by every page of medieval history; and in our days, the strongest evidences of them have been accumulated. But as the absurd formula, "Being a gentleman, he did not know how to sign his name," is often repeated, even in histories meant for young people, we beg leave to do justice upon it here, first by pointing out the texts quoted by Mabillon, Ziegelbauer, and their contemporaries, and then by

appealing, as to the facts, to the opinion of the most competent modern writers.

A passage of Eckhard of St. Gall, brought to light by Dom Pitra, shows that there were in the monasteries two kinds of schools—one for children intended for the cloister (*oblati*), the other where the sons of nobles and princes came to study, *exteriorem in qua magnatum nobiliumque liberi fingebantur.*—(BROUWER, *Antiquit. Fuldens.*, p. 36.) Here is Eckhard's text, which shows very clearly the distinction that existed between the clerks sent by the bishops and the young nobles intended to return to the world: "After a short time they are sent to the cloister school with the B. Notker, and the other children who follow the monastic rule, *traduntur post breve tempus* SCHOLÆ CLAUSTRI *cum B. Notkero et cum cæteris* MONACHICI HABITUS *pueris. Exteriores vero, id est canonicæ, Ieoni cum Salomone et ejus comparibus.*"—(*Vit. S. Notkeri*, c. 7.)

The *nutriti*, among whom were the sons of dukes, counts, and seigneurs, had a free choice between a knightly career in the world and the life of a monk in the cloister. Men of the highest merit were to be found in both. Thus we have no reason to be astonished with M. Charles de Rémusat that the historians of the twelfth century relate how the young nobles left their paternal castles in crowds to go and live in huts built of branches on the banks of the Arjusson, whither Abelard had transported his school (see COURSON, *Hist. des peuples bretons*, vol. ii. p. 555). No one will suppose, surely, that these young nobles gathered round a philosophic theologian were men without literary culture. Knowing, however, how tenacious some historical falsehoods are in France, M. Leopold Delisle, the learned director of the National Library, has thought it necessary to publish a dissertation to prove that it is absolutely false that the feudal nobility "ever systematically repelled the very elements of instruction."

The author commences by examining some important works, composed at this period, on the education of the nobles. What do these works say? That "the children of nobles have need of acquiring extensive information, and that they should be familiarised with literature from their youth" (VINCENT DE BEAUVAIS): that the sons of nobles ought to have three masters,—one to teach the mysteries of religion; one "skilled in science, and especially

in the science of grammar, that he may teach how to speak Latin, to read, to hear, and to understand, which is very expedient for the sons of kings and great lords;" the third, of noble race, and an experienced knight, "that he may teach them how to behave themselves and to converse among great and small, princes and prelates, knights, monks, and ordinary people" (GILLES DE ROMME).

Certainly this is a programme which might be accepted, in our own days, by the most rigid pedagogue.

But do facts agree with theories? M. Delisle has no doubt of it. "The list would be very long," he says, "of the barons and nobles who in the middle ages cultivated, with more or less brilliancy, history, jurisprudence, and poetry. The multitude of remarkable persons of those times—statesmen, warriors, ministers—who were drawn from the ranks of the nobility, is by itself enough to settle the question."

However, as large crosses take the place of signatures in deeds of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, it has been concluded that the nobles could not write. This is a great error, easily refuted by the following fact: The custom of placing a signature upon deeds, missives, &c., did not exist during most of the middle ages; thus not one of St. Louis's numerous letters is signed, and yet it is quite certain that he knew how to write!

The good lord of Joinville, Seneschal of Champagne, wrote very well, as is proved by a curious document discovered by M. Chazuad, keeper of the archives of the Department of the Allier.

Bertrand du Guesclin, who has been represented as the most illiterate of knights; Talbot, Lahire, Dunois, and many others,—did not in any way deserve the reputation for ignorance which they have gained. The custom of signing deeds is comparatively modern. Sovereigns only began to practise it in the time of Charles V.; and Philippe de Mézières complains bitterly of it, saying that a sovereign "ought to address autograph letters only to his relations, to the Pope, and to foreign potentates." It seems, then, that whatever may have been said or written, we must acknowledge the falsity of the famous formula, "He declared that he did not know how to write, as he was a gentleman." In the fifteenth century, in Bretagne, the *notaires-passe*, who, it would seem, must have known how to write, were all of gentle birth, and

it was the same in Dauphiné (La Roque, *Traité de la noblesse*, c. cxlviii., edition of 1710).

M. Delisle unhesitatingly concludes, as M. de la Borderie and M. A. de Courson had previously done, "that the nobles in the middle ages knew how to write, and that, the learned section of the clergy not included, they were not more ignorant than the members of other classes of society" (La Borderie, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie*, i. 60).

Condition of Medieval Peasants

(Page 203)

We cannot resist the pleasure of reproducing the following letter, from an author whose writings[1] have received the unanimous suffrages of the most competent judges, and who has studied more deeply than any other person the condition of the peasantry in the middle ages: "Apart from some isolated facts, we have vainly sought traces in Normandy of that antagonism which, according to modern writers, reigned between different classes of medieval society. The relations of the lords with their vassals were not marked by that violent and arbitrary character which has often been described. The peasants were very early enfranchised: serfage disappeared from the country in the eleventh century; from that epoch there still exist many dues and some personal services, but the greater number are attached to the occupation of the land. In all cases the obligations, both real and personal, are clearly defined by charters and customs. The peasant pays them without repugnance; he knows that they are the price of the land which feeds his family; he knows also that he can depend upon the aid and protection of his lord. No doubt his work is hard, his fatigues incessant, and his food coarse. But he has no anxieties for the future; modest in his wishes, he is ignorant of the pain of deception and despair. In a word, medieval feudalism (which we distinguish from modern feudalism) did not, in Normandy at least, produce upon the peasants those disastrous effects which are imputed to it, with more passion than justice. We own that grave

[1] Leopold Delisle, *Études sur la condition de la classe agricole en Normandie au moyen âge*, p. xxxvi. 1851.

abuses were introduced; we own, also, that for centuries our fields were the theatre of devastating wars. But must we throw the responsibilities of these misfortunes on fedualism alone? Do not let us forget that this *régime* gave to our fathers long years of calm and prosperity: in spite of the growth of material well-being, are our labourers and artisans really more happy than the labourers of the age of St. Louis?"

INVESTITURES, FROM GREGORY VII. TO CALIXTUS II.

(See Volumes v. and vi. *passim*)

Charter very valuable for the history of investitures in monasteries, given by Mabillon, *de Re diplomatica*, lib. vi. No. 165, under the title of *Notitia de libertate baculi pastoralis in cœnobio S. Michaelis ad Momea.* It is dated 1117, recapitulates former disputes, describes the concession by Count Raynauld of the right of investiture which his ancestors had usurped, and settles the precaution necessary to prevent the renewing of such pretensions; doubly interesting in reference to the age of Gregory VII. and that of the approaching triumph under Pascal II.

In nomine sanctæ Trinitatis et individuæ unitatis. Deducente nos omnium bonorum Ductore Spiritu sancto, exultationem nostram fratribus nostris in hanc ecclesiam nobis successuris, insinuemus, ut et ipsi scilicet habeant unde nobiscum exultent; et sibi caveant, ne reducto consuetudinis illicitæ jugo, seipsos pariter et fratres sibi successuros, unde nos exultemus, contristent. Igitur in hac ecclesia, sicut et in ceteris, in quibus secularis dignitas suam exercere nititur potestatem, mos antiquus obtinuerat, ut quoties abbas moreretur, alter in loco illius, nisi baculum de manu advocati ecclesiæ susciperet, nullatenus substitueretur. Hæc illicita consuetudo inoleverat, ut quidam abbas, nomine SIGIFRIDUS, quamvis ceteris quos memoria nostra sibi revocare potuit religiosior, tamen de manu feminæ, vidilicet venerabilis comitissæ SOPHIÆ, suscepisset. Qui tandem ad se reversus, et melius sacrorum canonum institutionibus informatus, Romam pœnitentiâ ductus petiit, baculum beatæ memoriæ GREGORIO septimo, qui et HILDE-

BRANNUS, crimen suum confitens, reddidit. Quem tamen, cogente vix eodem Apostolico, quia ejusdem viri religio ad notitiam ejus pervenerat, iterum recepit; et sic abbas laudabilis vitæ usque in finem perseveravit. Sed venerabilis prædicta comitissa audiens se contemptam, se despectam, vehementer super hoc gratulabatur: hac deinceps in dilectione viri religiosi plurimum pro tali contemptu caritatis vinculis astringebatur. Sed et ipsa hoc exemplo se peccasse cognoscens, Roman perrexit, atque eidem Apostolico reatum suum confitens, absoluta repatriavit. Ista autem membris corporis exuta, ingens altercatio inter comitem THEODORICUM, *prædictæ Sophiæ filium*, et monacos exoritur: dum hic scilicet juxta consuetudinem dignitatis prædecessorum suorum abbatem substituere nitebatur; monachi autem sacrorum canonum decretis, quibus jam per prædictum abbatem edocti fuerant, obviare reverebantur. Sed utrarumque partium mediatoribus hanc litem sedare cupientibus visum est, ut baculus super altare a comite Theodorico poneretur; et abbas ejus conductu ad eum suscipiendum adduceretur: satis in hoc decepti, ut quasi sic suam comes non amitteret dignitatem, nec monachi suam viderentur violare religionem. Cum sacri canones manum rarius nominent, quando catholicis prohibent accedere ad ecclesias per secularem potestatem: et frequentius (sicut in sequentibus videbitur) præcipiant eorum omnino vitare in conductu dignitatem. Tali ergo deceptus errore abbas ORNATUS, necnon abbas ULRICUS, baculum uterque super altare advocati conductu suscepit: et hæc illicita, nec memoriæ digna conditio in hac sancti Michaelis ecclesia usque ad electionem domini abbatis Lauzonis perseveravit. Igitur prædicto abbate ULRICO carnis claustra egresso, quidam fratrum spiritu ferventes, atque sacrorum canonum studiosi scrutatores, hujus miserandæ conditionis pestem diu in ecclesia lactatam, diu nutritam, diu roboratam, vehementer ingemuerunt; atque assumpto fidei clypeo, adversus eam pro posse suo decertare seipsos et universam Ecclesiam excitaverunt, sic scilicet, ut priusquam advocatus accurreret, abbatem sibi Lauzonem nomine præficerent, et ad altare absque ullo laicali conductu ad baculum suscipiendum deducerent, et soli sine seculari dignitate in sede collocarent. Sed his ita gestis, aures universorum, qui antiquæ consuetudinis ecclesiæ et advocatorum notitiam habuerant, quasi re inaudita concutiuntur, corda omnium in stuporem vertuntur. Monachi hoc præsumpsisse ausi, nimia

insipientia et etiam insolentia notantur. Comes etiam RAYNALDUS, prædicti comitis THEODORICI filius, tunc temporis ecclesiæ advocatus, hoc audito furore commotus, cum principibus regionis ad ecclesiam venit, qui monachos dignitatem suam injuste sibi subtraxisse satis indignando conquerebatur. Quod nisi celeriter corrigeretur, sic scilicet ut abbas de se egrederetur, multis assertionibus affirmabat quod ecclesiam oppressionibus quibus posset, persequeretur. Sed tamen eo virorum prudentium consilio mitigato, dies determinatur, in quo jus suum antiquum omnibus convenientibus recitaret, et injuriam quam a monachis perpessus fuerat, revelaret. Interim ab utraque parte consilium requiritur episcoporum. Die determinato fit conventus abbatum, monachorum, clericorum, laicorum. Res utriusque partis in judicio ponitur; sed monachi nihil superbe, nihil insolenter, sed religiose, sed prudenter fecisse quod fecerant, inveniuntur. Auctoritas enim sacrorum canonum in medio deducitur, quæ sub anathemate prohibet, ne quis per secularem dignitatem curam pastoralem aggrediatur. Sic enim in canone Apostolorum reperitur: "Si quis secularibus potestatibus usus Ecclesiam Domini per ipsas obtineat, deponatur, et abjiciatur, omnesque qui illi communicant. Item ex Antiocheno concilio: Si quis per secularem dignitatem Ecclesiam Domini obtinuerit, abjiciatur, et ipse, et ordinator ejus; et modis omnibus a communione separentur, et sint sub anathemate, sicut Simon Magus a Petro. Item ex synodo a ccxl Patribus habita sub Nicolao primo pontifice: Quisquis secularium principum aut potentum, aut alterius laicæ dignitatis adversus communem et consonantem atque canonicam electionem Ecclesiastici ordinis agere temptaverit, anathema sit, donec obediat atque consentiat, quod Ecclesia de electione et ordinatione proprii pastoris se velle monstravit." His atque plurimis aliis testimoniis, quæ prolixitas adhibere prohibuit, atque virorum religiosorum consiliis comes RAYNALDUS non tantum monachorum, sed et suum periculum discens, si quod jus circa pastoralem curam retentaret, indignationem tandem flexit: et quoniam *non malitiose, sed pro sua religione* monachos decertasse cognovit jus illud antiquum quod a progenitoribus suis retinere quærebat, inspirante sibi Spiritu sancto guirpivit. Erunt forte qui judicent, nos ista supervacue retulisse. Sed noverint, nos qui laborem certaminis sustinuimus, circa fratres in hanc ecclesiam nobis successuros piam sollicitudinem suscepisse,

et eorum utilitati dilectionis studio deservisse : ut in his percipiant, quanta servitute hoc cœnobium olim depressum fuerit, cum quoties abbas moreretur, non solum comites, sed et comitissæ capitulum ingrediebantur, ut eorum potestate alter subrogaretur. Sit igitur deinceps cautela fratrum religiosorum, ut quoties abbas eligendus fuerit sine seculari pompa, sine conventu omnino laicorum, clericorum, soli capitulum habeant, soli patrem sibi cum timore Dei eligant ; electum soli at altare ad suscipiendum baculum deductum constituant, constituto obedientiam promittant. His expletis, abbas ad publicum exeat, et fidelitates suas juxta consuetudinem, a quibus debet, suscipiat, quod si comes in villa fuerit, vel cum advenerit, duo de fratribus vel tres ad eum pergant, ut quem soli abbatem constituerint, ei nominent, omnino nihil aliud dicentes : Illum dominum nobis constituimus abbatem, precamur sicut advocatum ecclesiæ, ut eum diligatis et consilium ei detis, et in necessitatibus suis subveniatis. Si autem obliti suæ religionis aliter egerint, *unde jugum antiquitatis exsecrandæ* super se vel super posteros revocent ; vinculis anathematis sacrorum conciliorum, quæ ut Evangelia sunt veneranda, se astrictos non ignorent : fratrum autem libertatem ecclesiæ retinentium sit gloria in secula seculorum.

Here follow the date of the year only, and the signatures of the witnesses, ecclesiastics and laymen.

Part taken by the People and the Laity generally in the Election of the Popes from Sylvester II. to Calixtus II.

(See pp. 265, 266).

M. Raynouard (*Hist. du droit municipal*, vol. i. pp. 161–163) has collected important authorities to prove the part taken by the people and other laymen in the election of popes, even after the decree of Nicholas II. as to the cardinals. This series extends from Fabian (230) to Calixtus II. (1119). Here follow these authorities from the time of Gerbert in 999 :—

999. Sylvester II.—Defunctus est papa urbis Romæ, statimque omnis populus Romanus sibi dari adclamat Gerbertum. Assumptus itaque de urbe Ravenna ordinatus est pontifex in urbe Roma.—(Aimoin, *de Gest. Franc.*, b. v. c. xlvi.)

1044. GREGORY VI.—Cum consensu totius Romani populi ejectus est a sede Benedictus, et loco ejus subrogatus est. . . . Gregorius.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. ix. col. 943.)

1046. CLEMENT II.—Unanimi consensu omnium.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. ix. col. 944.)

1048. DAMASIUS II.—Omnium suffragiis est electus.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. ix. col. 946.)

1048. LEON IX.—Electione cleri et populi ecclesiæ Tullensis ordinatus est episcopus.—(*Chronic. Tull., sive sancti Richardi, Dacherii, Spicil.*, vol. ii. p. 349.)

"Romam vado, ibique si clerus et populus sua sponte me elegerit, faciam quod rogatis."

Dicit electionem cleri et populi canonicali auctoritate aliorum dispositionem præire. . . .

Nisi fiat electio ejus communi omnium laude . . . nihil sibi tutius fore credidit quam *populari* electione . . . assentiri.

Clerus et populus concordi voto, &c.—(*Act. SS.*, 19th April, vol. ii. pp. 653, 658, 659.)

A clero et populo Bruno in summum pontificem eligitur.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. ix. col. 947.)

1055. VICTOR II.—Consensu cleri ac populi pontifex.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. ix. col. 1077.)

1061. ALEXANDER II.—Cardinales, totius cleri et populi Romani consensu. . . .—(MARLOT, *Metrop. Remens. hist.*, vol. ii. p. 119.)

1073. GREGORY VII.—Voto communi clericorum ac laicorum, diu renitens . . . electus.—(*Act. SS.*, 18th March, vol. ii. p. 649.)

Omnium cardinalium consensu et suscriptione totiusque populi et cleri approbatione, in pontificem electus est invitus.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. x. col. 2 ; *Vit. Gregorii pap. VII.*)

Obierat ipso anno papa Alexander . . . et substitutus erat unanimi electione cleri et populi Gregorius VII.—(*Chronic. Virdun.*, HUGON. FLAVINIAC ; LABBE, *Nov. Biblioth. Manuscr.*, vol. i. p. 297.)

1086. VICTOR III.—Cum Cencio Romanorum consule consilio habito . . . episcopi et cardinales una cum clero et populo . . . itaque universi pariter uno consensu et animo illum cupientes invitum et renitentem attrahunt . . . ibique juxta morem Ecclesiæ eligentes, Victoris ei nomen imponunt.—(*Act. SS.*, 16th September, vol. v. p. 420.)

1088. URBAN II.—Comuni totius cleri ac populi consensu electus est pontifex.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. x. col. 420.)

1099. PASCAL II.—Ecclesia quæ erat in urbe pastorem sibi dari expetiit.

Ob hoc patres cardinales, episcopi, diaconi, *primoresque* urbis, primiscrinii et scribæ regionarii in ecclesia S. Clementis conveniunt. . . .

Ecce tibi in pastorem sibi elegit dari populus urbis, te elegit clerus, te collaudant patres.—(*Act. SS.*, May, vol. iv. pars i. p. 202.)

1118. GELASIUS II.—A clero, senatu populoque Romano, et congregatis omnibus quos Pandulphus hujus temporis enumerat cardinalibus, pari voto ac desiderio invitus ac renitens, Spiritus sancti gratia mediante, electus est pontifex.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. x. col. 812 and 813.)

His biographer says: "Romani de senatoribus ac consulibus . . . præter familiam nostram."—(*Act. SS.*, May, vol. iv. pars 2, p. 10.)

1119. CALIXTUS II.—Unanimi consenu totius cleri ac populi Romani . . . electus est pontifex.—(LABBE, *Concil.*, vol. x. col. 815; *Vit. Calisti*, p. 11.)

His contemporary biographer says he was elected by the cardinals who had come to France with Gelasius II., but that he waited until "per præfectum et consules, per clerum atque populum una voce ac litteris electionem ipsam canonice vereque firmarent."—(*Act. SS.*, May, vol. iv. pars ii. p. 14.)

END OF VOL. V.

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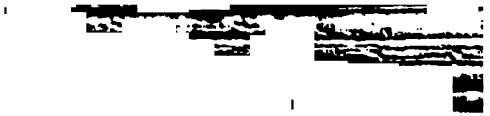

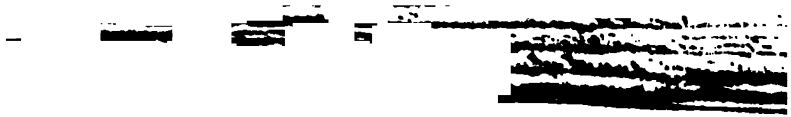

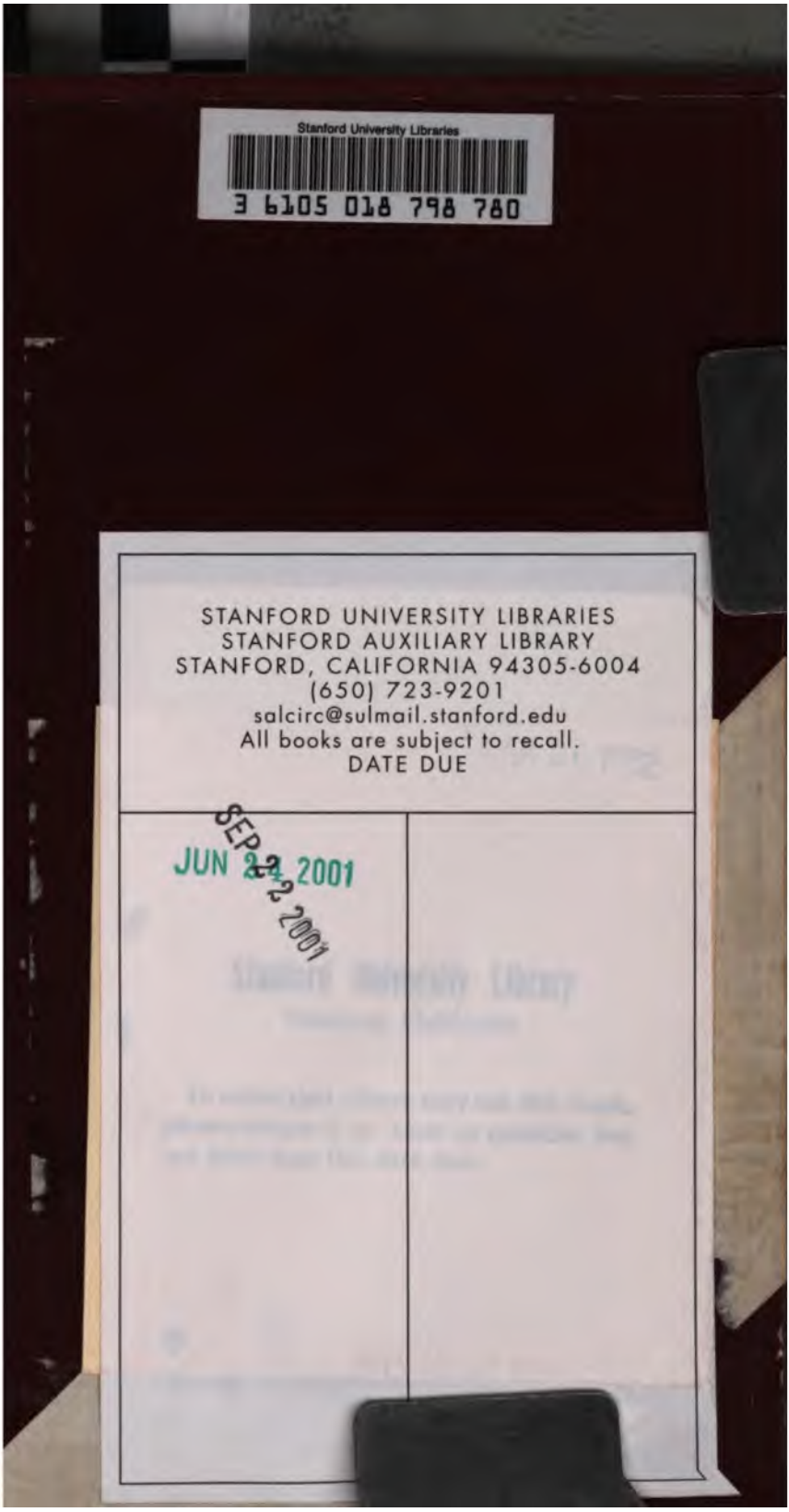
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